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THESIS

AMERICAN SERVICE: NEW NATIONAL SERVICE FOR THE UNITED STATES
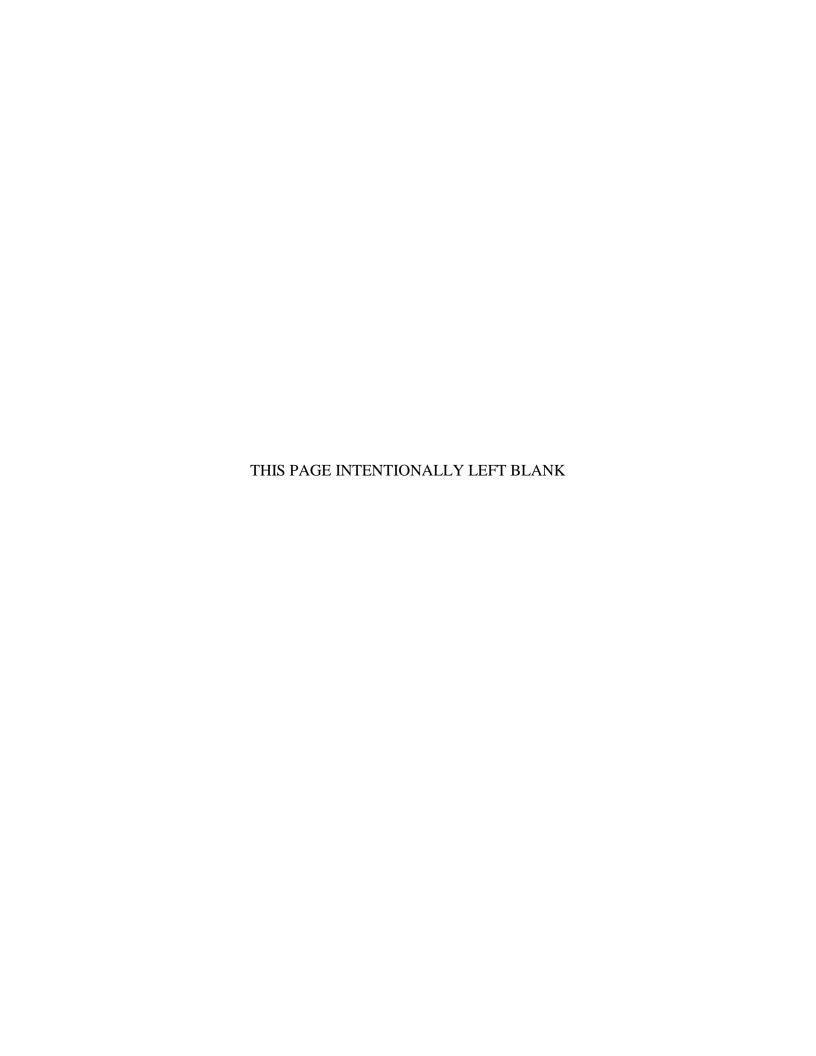
by

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December 2012

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AMERICAN SERVICE:
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Numerous Americans fear that their way of life is at risk—a risk that is generated as American society grows increasingly diverse. To strengthen the bonds of a great nation, this thesis describes how national service, or better yet, American Service could be implemented. The thesis explores the theory behind national service along with offering domestic and foreign examples. By extracting best practices from case studies, the authors offer a set of ten prescriptions for a future American Service program that range from it being compulsory to offering different options for service.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AJC	American Jewish Committee
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CNCS	Corporation for National and Community Service
CYB	City Year Boston
DoD	Department of Defense
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
FGP	Foster Grandparents Program
ICT	Information Communications and Technology
IDF	Israeli Defense Force
JROTC	Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps
LSA	Learn and Serve America
NCC	National Cadet Corps (India)
NCCC	National Civilian Community Corps
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIC	National Integration Centers (India)
NS	National Service
NSADA	National Service American Dream Account
NSS	National Service Scheme (India)
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps (Nigeria)
Pop Rep	Population Representation
RSVP	Retired and Senior Volunteers Program
SN	State and National program
STSA	Selective Service and Training Act
VISTA	Volunteers in Service to America
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. MOTIVATION

In 2007, a task force convened by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) published a report titled *Imagining America: Making National Service a Priority*. The report began by asking readers to ponder three statements:

> Imagine an America where the most commonly asked question of a young person turning eighteen is not 'Where are you going to work?' or 'Where are you going to college?' but instead 'Where are you going to serve?'

> Imagine an America where each generation is given the opportunity to be the 'Greatest Generation,' because it has participated in a common cause larger than itself.

> Imagine an America where Americans from all backgrounds feel a common bond because each has had the opportunity to experience service to our nation—service that will make America stronger, more secure, and better for us all.[1]

In this thesis, we have imagined this America—and believe that national service is a key to returning our country to a path of greatness.

B. OBJECTIVE AND ORGANIZATION

Our objective is simple: to offer multiple prescriptions for how a future national service program can be shaped within the United States, based on examples of existing domestic and foreign practices. Before proceeding, though, let us answer one critical question up front. What is national service? In 1986, Donald J. Eberly, a widely recognized, prolific scholar on community building, economic development, and civil society described national service as a multitude of things. Eberly reflected:

> A sociologist views national service as a rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood. A patriot sees it as a training ground for building good citizens and national unity. An antipoverty worker considers national service primarily as a service delivery program to the poor and needy. A

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[1] American Jewish Committee, "Imagining America: Making National Service a Priority," *Task Force on National Service*, 4, http://www.voicesforservice.org/resources/ImaginingAmerica.pdf (accessed July 22, 2012).

manpower expert looks at national service as a way to facilitate the transition of young people from school to work. An inner-city resident hopes national service will reduce the incidence of neighborhood crime, poverty, drug abuse and unemployment. An educator believes national service will provide the experiential education needed to counter balance the years of largely passive education received by students in the classroom. An employer welcomes national service as an initiative that will yield good work habits, thereby reducing the risk of hiring young employees. A conservationist views national service as a source of labor that can restore the forests and wilderness areas to their condition of a century ago.[2]

As Eberly's lengthy description implies, national service can be almost anything undertaken to better a country and its people. Or, for a simpler way to describe national service, consider Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton's statement in *National Service: What Would it Mean?* For Danzig and Szanton, "National service is an ideal, not a program."[3]

However, one conceives of national service, there are those who believe in its utility and those who simply do not. We will begin to explore the two opposing sides of the argument in the next chapter. We will draw on a host of those who have written about national service, to include Charles Moskos, William F. Buckley, Robert Putnam, Reuven Gal, Michael Lind, and Shirley Sagawa, along with Eberly, Danzig, and Szanton. Most arguments for some form of American national service center around accomplishing "much-needed national tasks, thus reshaping American life in fundamental ways" and using national service to strengthen civil society.[4] In contrast, arguments opposing national service in America concentrate on the violation of our basic freedoms as Americans, competition with an already vibrant volunteer network in America, and the fact that government programs simply cost too much.

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2 Donald J. Eberly and Reuven Gal, *Service Without Guns* (Raleigh, NC: Donald J. Eberly and Reuven Gal, 2006), 125.

3 Richard Danzig and Robert Szanton, *National Service: What Would it Mean?* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1986), 265.

4 Charles Moskos, *A Call to Civic Service* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 2.

To be clear, the aim of this thesis is not to debate the merits of national service—since we are both already convinced of its utility—but to examine what might be done to shape a successful national service program in the U.S.

After presenting the arguments for and against national service in Chapter II, in Chapter III we will transition from theory to examining national service practice. We will demonstrate that Americans have long engaged in a variety of forms of national service. Today, U.S. national service consists of three distinct types: the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS) with its major programs of AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, and Learn and Serve America; the Peace Corps; and the military. We will examine each program with the intent of extracting successful best practices.

In Chapter IV we will focus on foreign experiences with national service. More than 150 service programs exist beyond America's borders.[5] We will specifically concentrate on a representative handful, again to extract successful best practices.

After considering the theory behind national service, as well as successful practices observed both here in the U.S. and abroad, we will offer a set of ten prescriptions for a 21st century U.S. national service program in Chapter V. Recently, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey has said, "If I thought that we could adopt as a nation some form of universal service, I'd sign up for it in a second."[6] Dempsey added that the right mechanism—or "prescription," as referred to in this thesis—would "make all the difference."[7] With 65 percent of Americans currently fearing that the U.S. is headed down the wrong path, the prescriptions for getting us back on a better path are likely to need to be dramatic, if not sweeping.[8] We believe the most

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5 Amanda Moore McBride and Michael Sherraden, "Toward a Global Research Agenda on Civic Service: Editors' Introduction to This Special Issue," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (December 2004): 5S, doi: 10.1177/0899764004269745 (accessed May 24, 2012).

6 Kevin Baron, "Draft, No, But Dempsey Would Support 'Universal' Conscription," *Foreign Policy*, October 10, 2012, http://e-ring.foreignpolicy.com/ (accessed October 10, 2012).

7 Ibid.

8 Rasmussen Reports, "Right Direction or Wrong Track," September 26, 2012, http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/mood_of_america/right_direction_or_wrong_track (accessed September 29, 2012).

benign and practical adjustment that Americans can make is to adopt universal national service. Thus, the primary research question for this thesis is, what might national service need to look like to succeed in the U.S.?

II.   NATIONAL SERVICE DEBATE

When America needs it, national service is the personal obligation of every American. And she needs it now.[9]

—Gen (Ret.) Stanley McChrystal, 2011

The debate over national service is a debate over how we Americans think of ourselves. Citizenship cannot be reduced to service. When service is seen as a bridge to genuine civic responsibility, it can strengthen democratic government and foster the republican virtues.[10]

—E.J. Dionne Jr. and Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, 2003

The Cold War began after a World War that had created a profound sense of community and common purpose among the American people. The potentially lengthy struggle that currently lies ahead, in contrast, has been preceded by a lengthy period during which Americans have been able to pursue their individual dreams and aspirations with little thought for the greater good. Even the memory of 9/11 is beginning to fade from the national consciousness.[11]

—Carolyn Armistead Grigsby, 2009

Americans' attitudes toward national service programs vary greatly depending on the political, demographic, security-related, and even socio-economic situation in the country at the time. This chapter will primarily discuss from a distinctly American perspective the most common arguments made both for and against domestic national service programs.

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9 Stanley McChrystal, "Step Up for Your Country," *The Daily Beast*, January 23, 2011, http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2011/01/23/step-up-for-your-country.html (accessed February 15, 2012).

10 E. J. Dionne Jr. and Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, "Introduction," in *United We Serve: National Service and the Future of Citizenship,* eds. E.J. Dionne, Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, and Robert E. Litan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), 10.

11 Carol Armistead Grigsby, "Binding the Nation: National Service in America," *Parameters* (Winter 08/09): 116, http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/parameters/Articles/08winter/grigsby.pdf (accessed February 1, 2012).

A. LOGIC OF NATIONAL SERVICE?

At its core, a domestic national service program is said to seek to instill the basic American values of duty, service, and citizenship. In *United We Serve: National Service and the Future of Citizenship*, Robert E. Litan, Vice President and director of the Economic Studies program at the Brookings Institution outlines four broad categories for national service. First, national service provides the much needed "social glue" for societies that are becoming increasingly diverse. Litan defines "social glue" as the cohesive bond that connects individuals together within a society.[12] Second, national service promotes civic engagement, as well as an American spirit of community service and volunteerism. Third, national service helps satisfy unmet societal needs beyond those associated with homeland security. Lastly, national service firmly establishes the notion that rights for us (as Americans) come with responsibilities. In the following sections we examine each of these rationales in greater detail.

1. Social Glue

The first purpose of national service is to help serve as and strengthen the social glue that is critical to any society hanging together. A 2009 RAND Corporation report entitled, "Evaluating the Long Term Impacts of AmeriCorps Service on Participants" discusses the concept of social glue. According to the report (which we will discuss in greater depth in the next chapter), AmeriCorps presents a unique setting where people from diverse backgrounds have an opportunity to work together in communities across the nation.[13] By working together, people form strong social bonds, which in turn strengthen society. In our ever-increasingly stratified and segmented society, AmeriCorps is one of the few institutions that throws together Americans from varied socioeconomic backgrounds and provides them with the experience of working across racial, ethnic, and class lines to solve common problems. Participation in programs like this provides

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12 Robert E. Litan, "The Obligations of September 11, 2001: The Case for Universal Service," in *United We Serve: National Service and the Future of Citizenship*, eds. E.J. Dionne, Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, and Robert E. Litan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), 103.

13 Diana Epstein, "Evaluating the Long-term Impacts of AmeriCorps Service on Participants" (PhD diss., Pardee RAND Graduate School, 2009), 18.

participants the ability to "see past stereotypes, to empathize with others, and to negotiate and compromise, and to transcend [their] group identities."[14]   As Robert Putnam observes in his well-known book *Bowling Alone*, national service "creates 'bridging' social capital essential to making multiethnic democracy work."[15]   Indeed, as Litan remarks, "a service program in which young people from different backgrounds work and live together would do far more than college ever could to immerse young Americans in the diversity of our country."[16]

Several other effects flow from sharing service together. These also help thicken our social glue. For instance, service helps instill an ethic of personal responsibility and leads to increased connections with and in local communities. Ideally, volunteering becomes a lifelong habit. Service is also likely to lead some participants to pursue public service jobs or become social entrepreneurs. As evidence, a 2000 AmeriCorps longitudinal study revealed that alumni were more connected to their communities and had a greater understanding of local problems.[17]   Important benefits also accrue from service connecting individuals from diverse backgrounds, particularly as the country becomes more diverse, with white Americans expected to be in the minority in America by 2050.[18] In her book *The American Way to Change: How National Service & Volunteers are Transforming America*, Shirley Sagawa, often referred to as a "founding mother of the modern service movement," draws on Putnam and suggests,

> The more diverse a community is, the less people care about and engage with that community, breeding distrust and disengagement. He [Putnam] calls it 'hunkering down' and suggests that such a withdrawal from community means less confidence in government, lower voter turnout, less volunteering, less happiness, fewer friends, and more time spent watching television. Few institutions today bridge diverse communities, and Americans are increasingly segregated where they live, study,

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14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Litan, "The Obligations of September 11, 2001," 104.

17 Shirley Sagawa, *The American Way to Change: How National Service and Volunteers are Transforming America* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2010), 43.

18 Ibid.

worship, and play. Putnam suggests that national service that intentionally connects individuals from different backgrounds could be an antidote to these pathologies.[19]

2.   Civic Engagement

The second purpose of national service is civic engagement, which means getting citizens more involved in civic duties. The original purpose of the National and Community Service Act of 1990, an initiative launched by then-President George H.W. Bush, was to "renew the ethic of civic responsibility in the United States."[20] The idea that the rights citizens enjoy ought to be accompanied by responsibilities is typically exemplified in two central democratic acts: voting and paying taxes. Considering that only half of all eligible Americans vote and many of us do little more proactive than send in our tax returns on April 15, it can be inferred that our country really does not truly require much in the way of service from its citizens. Arguably, the last time our country really demanded anything from its people in terms of a service obligation was before the draft ended in 1973. Perhaps this explains why *Time* magazine editors in a 2007 feature article that proposed "the way to get citizens involved in civic life, the way to create a common culture that will make a virtue of our diversity, the way to give us a more capacious sense of "we"—finally, the way to keep the Republic—is universal national service."[21]

Similarly, the AJC has likewise called for long-term civic engagement for 18- to 25-year-old adults. In a 2007 report on the topic, the AJC concluded that "a national commitment to voluntary service would link the rights and privileges of being American with a clear sense of responsibility, engendering habits of civic engagement that last a lifetime."[22]

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19 Ibid.

20 Ibid, 40.

21 Richard Stengel, "A Time to Serve," *TIME Magazine*, August 30, 2007, http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1657256_1657317_1657570,00.html (accessed January 31, 2012).

22 AJC, "Imagining America," 3.

Sagawa, for her part, tackles this issue from an even more practical perspective. As the following chart extracted from her book indicates, Sagawa sees some very specific outcomes of civic service and the forms of civic engagement they could yield.

Type [of Outcome]	Examples [of Resulting Civic Engagement]
Democratic Participation	Voting, volunteering for political candidates, or advocating for policy change
Public service careers	Working in a government or nonprofit job
Community engagement	Participating in a neighborhood group or staying abreast of issues that affect the community
Personal responsibility	Doing the right thing [Personal Integrity]
Continued service	Long-term volunteering
Forging diverse ties	Learning to connect with people of different backgrounds

Table 1.   Examples of the Civic Outcomes of Service.[23]

An interesting paradox has emerged recently in the U.S., where volunteering is at an all-time high while confidence in democracy and our government is at an all-time low. After 9-11, many Americans experienced an intense desire to serve and volunteer. In January 2002, during his first State of the Union address, President George W. Bush called on all Americans to give 4,000 hours of service over their lifetimes. He established the USA Freedom Corps to marshal America's efforts. In doing so, Bush demonstrated that the issue of national service, often associated more with the Democratic than Republican Party is an issue that does not have to—and should not—lend itself to partisan debate.

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23 Sagawa, *The American Way to Change*, 38.

Perhaps not surprisingly, *Time* magazine found in 2002 that 70 percent of Americans thought universal service was a good idea. In fact, several popular programs are still capitalizing on this wave of dynamic altruism.[24] These popular programs like Teach for America, City Year, and other AmeriCorps programs demonstrate "organized service programs of all sorts can incorporate civic skill-building along with direct service to increase the resulting citizen engagement outcomes."[25] As Sagawa writes, "service in its many forms remains an important strategy to engage Americans to solve our problems—no matter what challenges the future may hold."[26]

3.   Social Needs

A third purpose of national service is to address the social needs of society. For instance, AmeriCorps' primary purpose and motto is "Getting Things Done." By having this as its motto, AmeriCorps serves to ensure than everyone—members, program directors, and the public—understands that it aims to make a difference and ultimately achieve some meaningful results. Often national service programs seek to tackle tough problems among the underserved, primarily in the areas of early childhood development, elementary and secondary education improvement, healthcare, poverty reduction, disaster response, energy conservation, and environmental protection.

Perhaps the easiest way to understand how national service programs can be used to address unmet social needs is to look at a few examples. Sagawa cites an AmeriCorps program called Diplomas Now, which deploys members to intervene when middle school students trip early warning signs that they may potentially drop out of school. Schools of Hope, a different program operating in Madison, Wisconsin, relies on volunteer community and college tutors supervised by national service members to help inner city students with reading. Sagawa emphasizes that low-cost intervention programs like these

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24 Ibid.

25 Sagawa, *The American Way to Change*, 50.

26 Ibid.

save significant public funding years later.[27] Other practical examples include "literacy programs, cleaning up blighted neighborhoods, [and] helping provide social, medical, and other services to elderly and low-income individuals and families."[28]

4. Democracy

The fourth purpose of national service is to better engrain the notion that civic rights also come with civic responsibilities. In his article "A Conservative Case for National Service," Seth Gitell explains, "Engaging hundreds of thousands of young Americans in a national service program would reinvigorate a participatory political culture. Young people will learn how they fit within the national structure, the nature of their gifts, and of their nation's needs, and to see anew the special value of our democracy."[29]

Simply being born in the United States accords citizens guaranteed rights to free speech, due process of law, freedom from discrimination, and the right to vote. Citizens have to pass through no rites of passage to receive these rights. Sagawa discusses other examples of cultural rites of passage such as Jewish children being bar or bat mitzvahed, Latina girls celebrating their Quinceanera, and, in Africa, young Masai men and women coming of age and taking on new responsibilities within their communities.[30] She makes the case that these rites of passage serve the larger idea of carrying on a society's values, culture, and history.

In 1916, former president Theodore Roosevelt was concerned about declining American values. In *Fear God and Take Your Own,* he described his plan for a system of

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27 Doug Bandow and Shirley Sagawa, "At Issue: Should AmeriCorps be Eliminated?," *CQ Researcher* 22, no. 4 (January 27, 2012): 93, accessed September 15, 2012, http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre2012012700.

28 Litan, "The Obligations of September 11, 2001," 104.

29 Seth Gitell, "The Conservative Case for National Service," *The Project for Conservative Reform*, May 2001, 7, http://www.conservativereform.org/papers/gitell200105.htm (provided by author on February 20, 2012). The Project for Conservative Reform was launched in 2001 by Hudson Institute, in conjunction with the New Citizenship Project, to help define a new conservative reform agenda. The Project for Conservative Reform fulfilled its objectives and has rescinded its web publications, to include the article by Seth Gitell.

30 Sagawa, *The American Way to Change*, 19.

universal service. He wrote this in response to international events which he felt threatened American prosperity and values. According to Seth Gitell, Roosevelt believed that "citizenship not only involved protected privileges, but inherent with those rights came obligations."[31]   The heart of his argument rested on the concept that "service inculcates democratic values in the young and instructs them in good democratic values."[32]

This lesson is as relevant today as it was one hundred years ago. As Danzig and Szanton observe in *National Service: What Would it Mean?*, "military veterans, Peace Corps alumni and, ironically, immigrants are now virtually the only Americans who experience a sense of citizenship earned rather than simply received."[33]   Danzig and Szanton argue that as a consequence of Americans briefly serving their nation by performing tasks of value, future generations of Americans would gain from fulfilling an obligation of citizenship.[34]

John Bridgeland, first director of the USA Freedom Corps, sums up the rights and responsibility argument particularly well. In *Heart of the Nation: 9–11 and America's Civic Spirit,* he notes that "democracy not only depends on active citizens who understand issues, vote, and keep public officials accountable, but also relies on active volunteers who do most of the work of civil society, meeting needs in compassionate ways that no government bureaucracy is ever equipped to meet."[35]

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31 Gitell, "The Conservative Case for National Service," 3.

32 As quoted in Scott Crizer, "Universal National Service" (Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War College, 2003), 13.

33 Danzig and Szanton, *National Service: What Would it Mean?*, 277.

34 Grigsby, "Binding the Nation," 118.

35 John M. Bridgeland, *Heart of the Nation: 9–11 and America's Civic Spirit* (Lexington: CreateSpace, 2011), 55.

B.   WHY NOT NATIONAL SERVICE?

> Universal [National] Service never was a good idea, and it grows worse with time. It fails militarily, morally, financially, and politically.[36]
>
> —Bruce Chapman, Discovery Institute

> National Service, despite its persistent allure, would be no bargain. [President Bill] Clinton's proposal would create nightmarish bureaucracy and waste billions of dollars at a time when he is asking the American people to pay more in taxes. National Service is an idea whose time will never come.[37]
>
> —Doug Bandow, Cato Institute

National service is a topic that sparks debate in political circles, even though it has gained acceptance across party aisles recently. Perhaps the best evidence of the latter is that aspects of national service have been adopted by the last four presidential administrations. In fact, the push for national service has existed ever since the first president. Bridgeland, for instance, describes joking with President George W. Bush that President William Henry Harrison was the only American President not to make a call for service, and Harrison died only one month into his term. Still, the fact that we do not yet have a universal national service program in the U.S., no matter how many Americans support the idea, points to consistent healthy resistance. Just as there are numerous reasons to support national service, critics, too, have their arguments. This section will highlight the three most common. First, libertarians argue that national service impinges upon our rights as Americans. Second, critics argue that national service competes with an already vibrant culture of volunteerism. And third, there is the cost versus benefit argument, asserting that national service is not financially viable.

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36 Bruce Chapman, "A Bad Idea Whose Time Has Passed," in *United We Serve: National Service and the Future of Citizenship*, eds. E.J. Dionne, Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, and Robert E. Litan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), 108.

37 Doug Bandow, "National Service: Utopias Revisited," *CATO Institute*, March 15, 1993, 1, http://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/national-service-utopias-revisited (accessed September 12, 2012).

1.   Libertarian Perspective

One of the most commonly cited arguments against national service, particularly when addressing a program designed to be universal in form, is the idea that national service directly conflicts with what the U.S. stands for as a nation. According to the libertarian argument, requiring anyone to participate in a federally mandated program such as national service directly violates their rights as free Americans. From a libertarian perspective, Americans have the right to sit on their couches eating bags of donuts and watching American Idol if that is what they choose to do. Or, to be even more succinct, libertarians believe that the principle right in a democracy is the right to be left alone, and our government already asks too much from us, its citizens.

A second libertarian argument is that the work typically undertaken by national service participants will still be accomplished regardless of whether a national service program exists or not. If the work is sufficiently important, then either the free market or entrepreneurs will meet the need and accomplish the task at hand. In *Gratitude: Reflection on What We Owe to Our Country*, William F. Buckley anticipates the libertarian argument about the free market disposition and writes, "Value, in ordinary circumstances, is best established by the unhampered probings of the marketplace. But we are here considering injecting into the marketplace an artificial enhancement of supply, intending to meet a demand which, in orthodox economic terms, is not a 'felt' demand—i.e., one that can generate its own supply by reaching out and paying for it."[38] Carl T. Bogus in *Buckley: William F. Buckley Jr. and the Rise of American Conservativism* sums up Buckley's artificial enhancement counterargument. According to Bogus, what Buckley is driving at is that "the free market does not operate perfectly. One of its deficiencies is that it does not sufficiently value some services needed by the community, and it was appropriate that government make adjustments" by enhancing supply so that services, which may not have been practical in a true free market, are now attainable.[39]

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38 William F. Buckley Jr., *Gratitude: Reflections on What We Owe to Our Country* (New York: Random House, 1990), 35.

39 Carl T. Bogus, *Buckley: William F. Buckley Jr. and the Rise of American Conservativism* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011), 336.

2.   Volunteerism versus National Service

Throughout our country's history, Americans have come together to help their neighbors. In the wake of 9-11, Hurricane Katrina, and the recent tornados in Joplin, MO, Americans heeded the call to serve. A typical concern regarding a federally funded national service program or, worse yet, a program of universal service, is that it elicits people to serve and drains the gift of its virtue. According to this line of thinking, the mere concept of incentivizing or universalizing volunteerism will potentially destroy the essence of "volunteerism" at its core. The argument goes, why should Washington require a federally run service organization when we already have so many volunteers from faith-based service organizations, volunteer centers, non-profit organizations, and other civic organizations?

Bruce Chapman from the Discovery Institute, in a rather pointed essay opposing national service, bluntly states, "Involuntary voluntarism is like hot snow; and allowing the pay [that National Service 'volunteers' would receive] to approach (let alone surpass) that available to ordinary workers of the same age performing the same tasks as the stipend and officially applauded as 'volunteers' stigmatizes the private sector."[40] What adherents of national service note in response is that a national service program is not designed to undermine or duplicate the already vibrant culture of volunteerism that exists today, but rather to enhance it.

A second important element in the volunarist argument against national service is that the work would have to be useful and not "make-work": national service workers would have to feel that their work counts. Critics are skeptical that anything run from Washington could achieve this. As the Cato Institute's Doug Bandow argues, "Real volunteerism, in contrast [to national service], works because the sponsoring organizations offer valuable enough work to attract well-motivated volunteers."[41] Chapman adds that the money spent on current national service programs would be better spent teaching today's students about "representative democracy and their part in it as

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40 Chapman, "A Bad Idea Whose Time Has Passed," 110.

41 Bandow, "National Service: Utopias Revisited," 6.

voters and volunteers or about the way our economy works and how to prepare for successful participation in it."[42]   He further suggests, "the way to get a nation of volunteers is to showcase voluntary service, praise it, reward it, and revere it; the way to sabotage national service is to coerce it, bureaucratize it, nationalize it, cloak it in political correctness, and pay for it to the point that the 'volunteer' makes out better than the poor soul of the same age who works for a living."[43]

3.   Costs Too Much

In a January 2012 debate about whether AmeriCorps should be eliminated, Bandow took the position that not only should AmeriCorps be eliminated, but so should the CNCS. According to Bandow, the "critical question is not the cost-benefit ratio, but the opportunity cost of AmeriCorps funding."[44]   As he went on to note, although "public service has a nice ring to it, there is no reason to believe that a dollar spent on national service will yield more benefits than an additional dollar spent on medical research, technological innovation, or any other number of private and public purposes."[45]

According to one estimate, a full national service program would cost between $20,000 and $30,000 per volunteer.[46] If you assume an average of four million high school graduates each year, this would result in an annual program budget of $120 billion. These cost estimates include direct costs such as "assembling, sorting (and sorting out), allocating, training several million youth in a unending manpower convoy; as well as indirect costs such as: clothing, providing initial medical attention, insurance, law enforcement associated with such large numbers, housing, and periodic leave arrangements."[47]

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42 Chapman, "A Bad Idea Whose Time Has Passed," 115.

43 Ibid.

44 Bandow and Sagawa, "At Issue: Should AmeriCorps be Eliminated?," 93.

45 Bandow, "National Service: Utopias Revisited," 5.

46 Chapman, "A Bad Idea Whose Time Has Passed," 113.; Bandow, "National Service: Utopias Revisited," 6.

47 Chapman, "A Bad Idea Whose Time Has Passed," 112–113.

C. CONCLUSION

Throughout this chapter we have examined the reasons given most often both for and against national service. The intent has been to air the opposing views, not to justify whether universal service would be valid for the U.S. to either adopt or eschew. While, in our view, a national service program would help solve numerous seemingly intractable problems that are preventing the U.S. from achieving its full potential, we merely intended in this chapter to inform rather than advocate.

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III.   DOMESTIC NATIONAL SERVICE

In the U.S., the term national service is a nebulous one. Some Americans will argue that true national service in the U.S. is simply non-existent or ceased when the Vietnam-era draft ended in 1973. Other Americans will argue that national service is all around us in the form of volunteers serving at the local food bank or in schools. An individual's perspective and, in some cases, bias plays an important role when it comes to what one considers national service within the U.S.

In the broadest context, national service within the U.S. encompasses three distinct areas: the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS), the Peace Corps, and the military. Sometimes there is a bifurcation between military service and other forms of service. In fact, programs like the Corporation for National and Community Service or the Peace Corps are seen as mere "alternatives to military service." Yet, service is integral to all three; in each, members—be they CNCS workers, Peace Corps volunteers, soldiers, sailors, airmen, or marines—display a commitment to a purpose larger than themselves in the undertaking of their duties. There is an old military adage that says that no one ever joined the military to get rich; the same can be said about the other national service programs as well. Understanding why individuals serve and why they choose the service programs they do is critical to providing insight into how future national service can be modeled.

Our examination of national service in the U.S. will center primarily on the CNCS. Our rationale is that any viable future national service program would likely be largely derivative of this civilian national service model. For reasons to be explained, we do not believe a future program would be either defense-oriented or externally focused, as in the case of the Peace Corps. However, certain aspects and practices drawn from both could be useful in a future national service model.

To begin, it is important to understand how and why the country has flirted with national service over the years. Our historical review will provide the foundation for exploring the operational framework of today's CNCS, as well as highlighting insights

based on successful past practices. We will investigate the scope, timing, audience, compensation, impacts, and interesting applications or outcomes within each program under the CNCS's purview. We will then conduct an abbreviated examination of aspects of the operational framework of the Peace Corps and the military. The aim in analyzing these domestic national service programs is relatively simple: to capture and understand successful national service practices which could assist in constructing a future national service model.

A.   HISTORY OF NATIONAL SERVICE

The idea of service within the U.S. dates back to before the birth of the nation itself. In 1775, prior to the beginning of the Revolutionary War, "over 650 laws and ordinances were passed by the colonies invoking involuntary military service in one form or another."[48] When the nation declared its independence in 1776, the Continental Army was made up of citizens-soldiers who volunteered to serve alongside state militias.[49] Following the Revolutionary War, General George Washington recommended that the militia system, which he believed should form the bedrock of our national defense, should be reformed to ensure that all males between 18 and 50 could fight on short notice. However, despite his urgings, little reform occurred.[50] By 1846, at the outset of the Mexican-American War, the nation had shifted away from the militia system in favor of an all-volunteer force.[51]

The all-volunteer military was relatively short-lived as the nation became embroiled in a civil war. Both the Union and the Confederacy conscripted citizens to serve in their respective armies. The Confederates drafted 100,000 from throughout the South over a period of three years. In the North, state militias were required to provide soldiers for the war. If state militias failed to provide adequate numbers, the federal

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48 George Q. Flynn, *Conscription and Democracy: France, Great Britain, and the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), 10.

49 U.S. Army Recruiting Command G-5 Public Affairs Office, "U.S. Army Recruiting Command History," 2004, http://www.usarec.army.mil/hq/apa/download/history.pdf (accessed September 1, 2012).

50 Flynn, *Conscription and Democracy*, 10.

51 Ibid.

government was authorized to draft any able-bodied male for service anywhere in the Union.[52]   The Union would go on to conscript nearly 300,000 volunteers to fill its ranks during the war. Interestingly, of the 300,000 volunteers who were conscripted, only 50,000 would go on to serve in the Union army which saw a few million serve. Citizens of union states were authorized to pay a monetary fee in lieu of service or hire a substitute for service in the army.[53]   As the war drew to a close in 1865, so did conscription; however, the idea of serving one's nation would live on.

The end of the Civil War brought a new wave of thinking regarding the idea of national service. This new wave was largely inspired by the violence seen in the Civil War and the idea that men should work together for the common good. In 1888, Edward Bellamy published a utopian novel entitled *Looking Backward* which described the concept of a "universal, state-directed civilian service."[54]   However, it was William James' 1906 speech turned into an essay, *"The Moral Equivalent of War,"* that is largely recognized as the seminal piece on civilian national service within the U.S. James argued that service was a "means of reminding people of life's simple pleasures but, especially, as a peaceful outlet for mankind's bellicose tendencies." James' essay was followed up in a 1916 *New Republic* article by Randolph Bourne. In his article, Bourne proposed that "enrollees 'do the things which need to be done but which are not now done,' including teaching, erecting playground equipment, helping the sick, and planting trees."[55]   While none of these books or articles led to initiation of a universal national service program at the time, they do represent the roots of the nation's civilian national service.

National service in the form of conscription returned to the spotlight as the U.S. entered World War I (WWI). As the U.S. prepared to enter the war, a call for volunteers went out across the nation. The intent was to enlist one million service members within the first six weeks; however, only 73,000 heeded the voluntary call to service.[56]   As a

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52 Ibid.

53 Ibid, 11.

54 As quoted in Stephen Bates, *National Service: Getting Things Done?* (Chicago: Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, 1996), 11.

55 As quoted in Bates, *National Service*, 12.

56 Howard Zinn, *People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003): 134.

result, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Selective Service Act in May 1917 which required all males between twenty-one and thirty to register for military service. Nearly 2.8 million men would go on to be drafted during WWI. As the Selective Service Act was being drafted, a number of lessons learned from the Civil War were recalled. For instance, the concept that an individual could buy himself out of service or provide a substitute for his service was strictly prohibited by the act. At the conclusion of WWI, the Selective Service Act and conscription in general also ended.

In the wake of WWI and at the height of the Great Depression, the idea of national service reemerged, but with a civilian focus in mind. In the early 1930's, "President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) as a way to put idle hands to productive use to meet public needs."[57] Through the CCC over three million men were put to work planting trees, clearing trails, and conducting other work mainly in what would become our nation's national parks. The CCC program continued to run until 1942 when the emphasis again shifted away from civilian national service with the advent of World War II (WWII).

In 1940, before the CCC came to an end, Congress enacted the Burke-Wadsworth Act which President Roosevelt signed into law.[58] Concerned about the war in Europe, President Roosevelt authorized the first peacetime conscription in the U.S. The Burke-Wadsworth Act, also known as the Selective Training and Service Act (STSA), required all males between twenty-one and thirty-five to register for potential military service. The STSA also formally established the Selective Service System which today requires all males to register for potential military service.[59] Following a request by the War Department, the minimum age was later reduced to eighteen to provide a wider range of potential draftees.

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57 Corporation for National and Community Service, "Government Support for Volunteering," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/volunteering/government.asp (accessed March 8, 2012).

58 Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Proclamation 2425 - Selective Service Registration," September 16, 1940, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15858 (accessed August 30, 2012).

59 Selective Service System, "Background of Selective Service," (n.d.), http://www.sss.gov/backgr.htm (accessed August 30, 2012).

Originally, draftees would be required to train for no longer than twelve months in the U.S. However, this requirement changed in 1941 after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Following the U.S. entry into WWII, draftees would serve for the duration of the war plus six months. In total, over ten million men were drafted to serve the nation during WWII.[60] Versions of the STSA authorization to draft citizens for vacancies in military service requirements would continue through 1973. Ultimately, almost five million citizens were drafted into military service from 1948 to 1973, with the bulk serving during the Vietnam War era.

Meanwhile, civilian national service remained in limbo from 1942 until late 1960 when President John F. Kennedy brought the concept back to center stage. It was in an unprepared 2 a.m. speech to 5,000 University of Michigan students that he introduced the concept of the Peace Corps. During that speech, then-Senator Kennedy challenged the students to contribute two years of their lives to help people in countries around the developing world. Following his inauguration, President Kennedy signed Executive Order 10924, which formally established the Peace Corps. Within a few years the Peace Corps was operating in fifty-five countries with more than 14,500 volunteers.[61]

Based on the success of the Peace Corps, President Kennedy shifted the focus of service from the international stage to the home front. Kennedy "envisioned a national service corps 'to help provide urgently needed services in urban and rural poverty areas,' which would go on to become VISTA, or Volunteers in Service to America."[62] It was actually President Lyndon B. Johnson who signed into law The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which created VISTA and helped realize one of Kennedy's dreams. VISTA's simple overarching goal was to serve the needs of the poorest of Americans. According to President Johnson, VISTA experiences "have the ultimate reward which comes to

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60 Selective Service System, "Induction Statistics," (n.d.), http://www.sss.gov/induct.htm (accessed August 30, 2012).

61 Peace Corps, "History," (n.d.), http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm?shell=about.history (accessed March 8, 2012).

62 AmeriCorps, "A History of AmeriCorps VISTA," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/about/programs/vista_legacy.asp (accessed August 5, 2012).

those who serve their fellow man."[63] By January 1966, VISTA had over 2,000 members working on programs in the Appalachian region, California migrant worker camps, and urban centers on the east coast.[64]

The VISTA program continued to flourish through the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1970s, VISTA started to recruit professionals like doctors for their specific skills. The professionals "helped develop new health care facilities, architects helped renovate and build low-income housing, and lawyers encouraged housing and health care reform."[65] The focus shifted slightly in the 1980s when a "strong focus on literacy, substance abuse prevention and treatment, citizen participation, and community self-help," became cornerstones of the VISTA program.[66] It was during this same period that an off-shoot of VISTA was initiated to recruit older Americans to assist people in need. Programs enrolling seniors would soon evolve into the Foster Grandparents, Senior Companions, and Retired and Senior Volunteer Programs.[67]

In 1990, President George H.W. Bush established the Commission on National and Community Service. This Commission was chartered to "administer grants to schools in support of service-learning in schools, higher education institutions, and community-based organizations."[68] Its charge was to support four streams of service: Service-learning programs for school-aged youth, higher education service programs, Youth Corps, and national service demonstration models.[69] In 1992 the Bush Administration and a bipartisan Senate group enacted legislation which created the National Civilian Community Corps (NCCC). The NCCC was intended as a demonstration program using

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63 Ibid.

64 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps VISTA," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/about/programs/vista.asp (accessed March 7, 2012).

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 CNCS, "Government Support for Volunteering."

68 Ibid.

69 Corporation for National and Community Service, "Our History and Legislation," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/role_impact/history.asp (accessed March 3, 2012).

post-Cold War military resources to help solve domestic issues. The program became a hybrid service program modeled after Roosevelt's CCC and the U.S. military.[70]

President Bill Clinton delivered on one of his major campaign initiatives to expand national service programs when he signed into law the National Community Service Trust Act of 1993. The 1993 Trust Act combined the Commission for National and Community Service, the NCCC, VISTA and all senior citizen programs into a single entity: the Corporation for National and Community Service, or as it exists today, the CNCS. This was the first time that the "full range of domestic community service programs [fell] under one umbrella."[71] The goal was to "connect Americans of all ages and backgrounds with opportunities to give back to their communities and their nation."[72] CNCS adopted a three-pronged approach comprised of the Senior Corps, which included the Foster Grandparents, Retired and Senior Volunteer, and Senior Companion programs; AmeriCorps, incorporating the flagship VISTA program, the NCCC, and the full-time demonstration program; and Learn and Serve America, which was focused on service-learning.[73] In addition to this tripartite organization, the 1993 Trust Act mandated the creation of Governor-appointed state service commissions to administer AmeriCorps funding at the state level.[74]

The CNCS continued to flourish without significant changes for the next eight years. By 1999, CNCS had enrolled over 100,000 participants. These volunteers served nearly thirty-three million citizens in 4,000 communities across the U.S.[75] Then came the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the idea of national service returned to the limelight. In response to the attacks, President George W. Bush realized that he needed to create a national service program that would "not just touch thousands of people, as most of the

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70 Ibid. Since 2000, more than 13,000 NCCC members from across the country have served more than 4.5 million hours on over 1,673 disaster service projects.

71 CNCS, "Government Support for Volunteering."

72 CNCS, "Our History and Legislation."

73 Ibid.

74 Corporation for National and Community Service, "National Service Timeline," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/role_impact/history_timeline.asp (accessed March 12, 2012).

75 Ibid.

national service programs of the past had done," but rather a program that "would enable 280 million Americans to serve their communities and country in meaningful ways during a time of struggle and over their lifetimes."[76] In his 2002 State of the Union address, President Bush announced the creation of the USA Freedom Corps which was his attempt to coordinate national service volunteer efforts.[77] Additionally, President Bush declared that it should be a goal for all Americans to devote the equivalent of two years of their lives, or 4,000 hours, to service and volunteering.[78] According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, over twenty-seven percent of the nation's citizens heeded his call to service in the year following the speech.[79]

Around the same time, Representative Charles Rangel promoted a somewhat different idea. In 2003, he introduced a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives "requiring that all young persons in the U.S., including women, perform a period of military service or a period of civilian service in furtherance of the national defense and homeland security."[80] His bill required a two-year service commitment for all citizens between 18 and 26. But, it did not receive sufficient votes.[81] Nor did the national service wave which emerged following September 11 last. According to John Bridgeland, former Director of the USA Freedom Corps, "the war [in Afghanistan and Iraq] was sucking all the oxygen out of debates about domestic issues generally and Freedom Corps more specifically."[82] Bridgeland asserted that without "sustained Presidential leadership both within and across administrations," national service issues would generally never take root within the U.S.[83]

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76 Bridgeland, *Heart of the Nation*, 47.

77 CNCS, "Our History and Legislation."

78 CNCS, "Government Support for Volunteering."

79 Stephanie Boraas, "Volunteerism in the United States," *Monthly Labor Review* (August 2003): 3, http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2003/08/art1full.pdf (accessed September 5, 2012).

80 United States Congress, "Universal National Service Act of 2003," 108th Congress, S. 89, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-108s89is/pdf/BILLS-108s89is.pdf (accessed September 5, 2012).

81 The 2003 bill only received 2 votes in favor.

82 Bridgeland, *Heart of the Nation*, 146.

83 Ibid, 147.

In 2009, President Barack Obama reenergized the national service concept when he signed the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act. The Serve America Act reauthorized and expanded national service programs administered by the CNCS. This act was said to represent a significant "expansion of national service that will engage millions of Americans in addressing local needs through volunteer service."[84] The Serve America Act focused on three major areas: increasing opportunities to serve, supporting innovation and strengthening the nonprofit sector, and strengthening governmental management and oversight.[85] The act established the Summer of Service program for middle and high school students; boosted the Segal AmeriCorps Education Award to the Pell Grant; permitted individuals age fifty-five and older to transfer education awards to children or grandchildren; and most notably, postured AmeriCorps to expand from 75,000 to 250,000 by 2017.[86] To put this into context, the expansion of AmeriCorps to 250,000 members equates to enough funded positions to allow service to be performed by "about 1 in every 18 18-year olds."[87]

B.   CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Today, CNCS's primary role is to "provide critical resources and leadership to support local initiatives that tackle community challenges" via AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, Learn and Serve America, and other special initiatives.[88] Each year, more than five million Americans are connected to service through CNCS programs. The programs range in size from AmeriCorps, the smallest with 80,000 participants, to Senior Corps

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84 Corporation for National and Community Service, "President Obama Signs Landmark National Service Legislation," April 21, 2009, http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/newsroom/releases_detail.asp?tbl_pr_id=1301 (accessed March 11, 2012).

85 Corporation for National and Community Service, "Highlights of the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act," March 30, 2009, http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/newsroom/releases_detail.asp?tbl_pr_id=1283 (accessed March 8, 2012).

86 Ibid.

87 Rebecca Nesbit and Jeffrey L. Brudney. "At Your Service? Volunteering and National Service in 2020." *Public Administration Review* 70, (2010): S109, http://search.proquest.com/docview/853231681?accountid=12702 (accessed September 9, 2012).

88 Corporation for National and Community Service, Office of Research and Policy Development, "Strategic Plan – 2011–2015," (n.d.), 6, http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/11_0203_cncs_strategic_plan.pdf (accessed March 3, 2012).

and Learn and Serve America with 340,000 and 1,300,000 participants, respectively. The vast majority of participants serve via special initiatives which mobilize "millions of Americans to become active participants in community solutions."[89]   The special initiatives include a diverse set of programs like Martin Luther King Day, National Mentoring Month, or the 9/11 Day of Remembrance which encourage citizens to participate without needing to formally enroll in a particular CNCS program. In total, CNCS volunteers contribute over 8.1 billion hours annually to projects in all fifty states, with an estimated value of $173 billion.[90]

There are myriad reasons why individuals serve in CNCS programs. Service is not always or wholly altruistic, since individuals gain a number of benefits. According to the CNCS website, the top reasons why individuals serve are:

- Connect with your community
- Conserve funds for charities, nonprofits and faith-based and other community organizations by contributing your time
- Share your skills and gain new ones
- Develop self-esteem and self-confidence
- Meet new people from all walks of life
- Enhance your resume and make important networking contacts
- Promote a worthwhile activity
- Feel needed and valued
- Experience something new
- Serve your country[91]

What is important to note is that every individual has his/her own reason(s) for serving. There is no one-size-fits-all explanation for why people volunteer. As John Bridgeland notes in *Heart of the Nation: 9–11 and America's Civic Spirit*, "Finding that

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89 CNCS, "Strategic Plan – 2011–2015," 7.

90 Corporation for National and Community Service, "Volunteering in America 2011 Research Highlights," August 2011, http://www.volunteeringinamerica.gov/assets/resources/FactSheetFinal.pdf (accessed March 6, 2012).

91 Corporation for National and Community Service, "Why Get Involved?," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/for_individuals/why/index.asp (accessed September 12, 2012).

individual calling—uncovering your unique personal and professional path—is fundamental to sparking that spiritual animation and leading a happy life."[92]

When examining the idea of service on a more macro level, the results reflect much the same tone. In a 2007 Harris Poll, 73 percent of Americans indicated that they viewed service as important for young people.[93]   In addition, 55 percent of survey participants indicated they would support tax increases to fund additional authorizations in national service programs.[94]   However, one of the criticisms that many Americans voice is that they know very little about the CNCS programs. In an earlier poll, it was noted that "only 24 percent of respondents had heard or read anything about AmeriCorps, compared to 91 percent who recognized the Peace Corps."[95]   With this in mind, we will now delve a bit deeper into AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, and Learn and Serve America.[96]

1.   AmeriCorps

AmeriCorps' raison d'être is to offer opportunities "for adults of all ages and backgrounds to serve through a network of partnerships with local and national nonprofit groups."[97]   Service within the AmeriCorps program focuses on addressing educational, environmental, public safety, and disaster relief needs of communities, as well as increasing the capacity of nonprofit organizations by helping them to mobilize volunteers, expand services, and raise funds.[98]   In a sense, AmeriCorps can be seen "as a decentralized national service scheme" where "members complete their volunteer service

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92 Bridgeland, *Heart of the Nation*, 160.

93 Harris Interactive, "Americans Do Not Support Draft for Military or Civilian Service, But Favor Voluntary Service to Support Country," February 22, 2007, http://www.harrisinteractive.com/vault/Harris-Interactive-Poll-Research-Govt-service-2007–02.pdf (accessed June 7, 2012).

94 Ibid.

95 Nancy Ethiel, *National Service: Getting It Right* (Chicago: Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, 1997), 15.

96 Special initiatives, like National Mentoring Month, while interesting are not particularly relevant to the national service thrust of the thesis.

97 AmeriCorps, "What is AmeriCorps?," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/about/ac/index.asp (accessed September 11, 2012).

98 Corporation for National and Community Service, Office of Research and Policy Development, "Still Serving: Measuring the Eight-Year Impact of AmeriCorps on Alumni," 2008, 1, http://www.americorps.gov/pdf/08_0513_longstudy_report.pdf (accessed September 4, 2012).

through sponsoring public and nonprofit organizations in the U.S."[99] Service is provided through one of three distinct sub-programs within the AmeriCorps portfolio: AmeriCorps State and National, AmeriCorps VISTA, and AmeriCorps NCCC.

a.   *AmeriCorps State and National*

The AmeriCorps State and National (SN) program "provides grants to a broad network of public and nonprofit organizations that sponsor AmeriCorps service programs around the country, including hundreds of faith and community based organizations, Indian Tribes, institutions of higher education, and public agencies."[100] Through these financial grants, public and nonprofit organizations recruit, train, and oversee AmeriCorps members. In total, over 70,000 individuals are serving "in direct service and capacity-building [areas] to address critical community needs."[101]

The diversity among the over 70,000 individuals serving in the AmeriCorps SN program is impressive. AmeriCorps workers range in age from 17 to 80 with an average age of 28.[102]   Almost two-thirds of the workers are female. Demographically, 48 percent are White, 29 percent Black, 16 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian, 2 percent Native American, and 2 percent Other.[103]   Of the individuals serving in AmeriCorps SN, 18 percent are married, with 39 percent having at least one child living at home.[104] In terms of education, 34 percent of AmeriCorps workers have a Bachelor's degree, 39 percent have an Associate's Degree or at least some post-secondary school education, and 26 percent have a high school degree.[105]

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99 Amanda Moore McBride and YungSoo Lee, "Institutional Predictors of Volunteer Retention: The Case of AmeriCorps National Service," *Administration and Society* 44, no. 3 (April 2012): 344, doi: 10.1177/0095399711413729 (accessed August 19, 2012).

100 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps State and National," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/about/programs/state_national.asp (accessed March 3, 2012).

101 Ibid.

102 McBride and Lee, "Institutional Predictors of Volunteer Retention," 353.

103 LeVester Tubbs, "Recruitment Diversity: Identifying and Developing an Applicant Pool," 1999, 16, http://www.nationalserviceresources.org/files/legacy/filemanager/download/NatlServFellows/tubbs.pdf (accessed 18 August, 2012).

104 McBride and Lee, "Institutional Predictors of Volunteer Retention," 353.

105 Tubbs, "Recruitment Diversity: Identifying and developing an applicant pool," 16.

Equally diverse is where and how AmeriCorps SN individuals serve. Over 15,000 public and nonprofit organizations, operating in all fifty states and every U.S. territory, receive grants funding a specific number of AmeriCorps SN workers. The grants fund between 50 and 76 percent of the total cost for supporting an AmeriCorps SN worker.[106] The remaining costs are absorbed by the host organization. To receive a grant from the AmeriCorps SN program, public and nonprofit organizations file a grant application with either their state or national AmeriCorps office. If an organization only operates in a particular state, then the state AmeriCorps office processes the grant application. If the particular program has multi-state or nationwide impact, then the application is filed with the national AmeriCorps office. In both cases, the AmeriCorps office, along with a state or national commission, reviews and either approves or disapproves the application. Small programs may result in a single funded AmeriCorps worker; others may have hundreds of AmeriCorps positions funded. Once the funding of AmeriCorps workers is approved, individuals wishing to serve within a particular organization apply through an online process. Consider, for instance, these two examples.

The Up2Us Tenacity Program in Allston, Massachusetts is a national initiative that specifically serves 5,500 youth annually at five Boston public middle schools. Volunteer counselors meet four times a week for three hours during the school year and focus on improving urban youths' character, physical development, and scholastic abilities by combining tennis instruction with life skills.[107] Given the size and scope of the program, Up2Us Tenacity received an AmeriCorps National grant for a single AmeriCorps SN worker in Allston.[108] The idea is that this AmeriCorps SN worker

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106 AmeriCorps, "FAQs on Single Match," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/for_organizations/manage/commcenter_detail.asp?tbl_pr_id=964 (accessed September 12, 2012).

107 Up2Us, "Up2Us Center for Sports-Based Youth Development," (n.d.), 13, http://www.up2us.org/uploads/reports/up2us_report.pdf (accessed September 8, 2012).

108 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps in Massachusetts," (n.d.), 1, http://www.nationalservice.gov/state_profiles/pdf/MA_AC.pdf (accessed September 8, 2012).

would be able to "recruit and manage other community volunteers to multiply the efforts to serve."[109] In a sense, that turns this single AmeriCorps worker into a force multiplier of service.

Also in Massachusetts, City Year Boston (CYB) focuses on high school dropouts. CYB partnered with fourteen public schools to provide "tutors, mentors and role models" to third through ninth grade at-risk youth before, during, and after school.[110] The CYB volunteers offer academic support, attendance and positive behavior encouragement, and assistance with community and school improvements.[111] In contrast to Up2Us, CYB received a grant from the AmeriCorps State office for 168 positions.[112] Within CYB, AmeriCorps SN workers are placed on small "teams which are deliberately integrated, comprising young people of different races, sexes, educational backgrounds, and social classes."[113] By doing this, CYB volunteers not only help third through ninth graders, but are themselves fully integrated and gain maximum exposure to others from different backgrounds. Another interesting aspect of the CYB program is its focus on patriotism. CYB founders decided that patriotism would play a prominent role and mandated that volunteers display the American flag on the sleeve of their uniforms. What makes this particularly interesting is that AmeriCorps SN de-emphasizes patriotism as a central theme of its programs at the national level, letting each organization establish its own set of values.[114] Essentially, each public and nonprofit organization can establish and stress what it chooses. Interestingly, CYB has been so successful that it has been replicated in twenty-four U.S. locations and has been copied by similar programs in England and South Africa.[115]

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109 CNCS, "Still Serving," 2.

110 City Year, "Service Model," (n.d.),
http://www.cityyear.org/CityYear/1_What_We_Do/Service_Model.aspx (accessed September 4, 2012).

111 Ibid.

112 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps in Massachusetts," 2.

113 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 61.

114 Gitell, "The Conservative Case for National Service," 4.

115 City Year, "About City Year," (n.d.), http://www.cityyear.org/about.aspx (accessed September 4, 2012).

Not all of the programs that AmeriCorps SN funds are as successful as Up2Us Tenacity and CYB. One of the major challenges that AmeriCorps SN workers face is many small-scale charitable organizations lack the capacity and knowledge to manage volunteers effectively. The outcome then is that AmeriCorps workers are not always able to fulfill the service they signed on to accomplish. As Rebecca Nesbit writes, "Young Americans want the chance to make a difference and learn new skills, not work in the back office stuffing envelopes."[116] A second major issue is simple misuse of AmeriCorps workers. According to a 2009 report issued by former CNCS Inspector General Gerald Walpin, eight volunteers at a Georgia children's museum were used as "janitors, food service workers and bookkeepers and did little or no volunteer work."[117] In a second, more high profile case of AmeriCorps SN worker fraud, Walpin's investigators discovered that Sacramento city mayor Kevin Johnson had used AmeriCorps members assigned to his charity "as chauffeurs, personal assistants and political operatives."[118] Mismanagement and corruption aside, approximately 70 percent of AmeriCorps members complete their terms of service.[119]

Terms of service range in length from ten months to one year, depending on the specific host organization. So as not to be able to homestead or make a career of AmeriCorps, individuals may only serve within the AmeriCorps program up to four times over the course of their lifetime. During each period of service, AmeriCorps workers receive a living and subsistence stipend, medical insurance, and child care if required.[120] The stipend for living expenses varies depending on the location, but is relatively small. In some cases, a host organization may supplement or provide housing, but that is situation dependent. In certain instances, workers may be required to file for food stamps.

116 Nesbit and Brudney, "At Your Service?," S110.

117 Gregory Korte, "AmeriCorps Fraud Seldom Followed Up," *USA Today*, February 8, 2011, http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2011–02–08-fraud08_ST_N.htm (accessed September 12, 2012).

118 Ibid.

119 McBride and Lee, "Institutional Predictors of Volunteer Retention," 353.

120 Melissa Bass, "National Service in America: Policy (Dis) Connections Over Time," *The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement*, October 2003, 10, http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP11Bass.pdf (accessed May 11, 2012).

In a poll of AmeriCorps alumni, "all respondents agreed that, even with stipends, service in AmeriCorps represents a sacrifice on the part of participants, and many thought that the stipends should be increased."[121]

One of the benefits of completing service—a benefit which definitely lures a number of volunteers—is an education award that AmeriCorps SN volunteers can use to pay for college or even to pay back qualified student loans. Workers receive the Segal AmeriCorps Education Award upon successful completion of their service, an award capped at the maximum Pell Grant level of $5,550 for the 2012/13 school year. These education benefits can be used at most post-secondary colleges, universities, and vocational programs. Of particular note is that 112 colleges and universities match the grant which doubles the financial incentive for some volunteers.[122]

In addition to educational benefits, there are a number of other benefits individuals receive. A 2008 longitudinal analysis of the long-term impacts of national service concluded that AmeriCorps alumni "were more connected to their communities and more likely to feel that they could work with state and local government to meet community needs."[123] This study further concluded that AmeriCorps SN alumni displayed "high levels of volunteering, voting, and political engagement."[124] What the study fails to indicate is what type of predisposition these members had prior to their service in the AmeriCorps SN program. Arguably, individuals wanting to serve within AmeriCorps are self-selected, so it would be logical to assume that they already displayed a higher than average penchant for civic engagement and involvement.

b. AmeriCorps VISTA

The AmeriCorps VISTA program shares similarities with the AmeriCorps SN program, but has some unique features which is what we will concentrate on here. To begin, the AmeriCorps VISTA program focuses on reducing and eliminating domestic

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121 Ethiel, *National Service: Getting It Right*, 12.

122 AmeriCorps, "Institutions that Match the Segal AmeriCorps Education Award," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/for_individuals/benefits/ed_award_match.asp (accessed September 26, 2012).

123 Nesbit and Brudney, "At Your Service?," S109.

124 Ibid.

poverty. Over 7,000 Americans dedicate a year of service "at nonprofit organizations or local government agencies to build the capacity of these organizations to carry out programs that fight poverty."[125] These individuals serve in over 1,200 different anti-poverty organizations across the U.S.[126]

"VISTAs," as AmeriCorps VISTA workers are known within the program, do not serve in direct service roles (tutoring, coaching, etc.) as do many SN workers. Rather, VISTAs "focus their efforts on building the organizational, administrative, and financial capacity of organizations that fight illiteracy, improve health services, foster economic develop, and otherwise assist low-income communities."[127] For example, in 2007 VISTA completed 943 projects by mobilizing 610,785 volunteers across the country. These volunteers raised $172 million in cash and in-kind resources towards anti-poverty initiatives in their respective communities.[128] As with the AmeriCorps SN program, organizations seeking a VISTA volunteer apply through either their state or national AmeriCorps offices. In most cases, anti-poverty organizations seek individuals who are older, with some work experience, or who have at least a college degree. The rationale is that it takes a different type of individual for VISTA endeavors. For instance, in one case, the individual with the right blend of experience and education happened to be a 76-year-old lady.[129]

During the VISTA's year of service, the government will provide him/her with enough of a stipend for basic subsistence housing and board, along with medical and childcare services if required. One of the interesting things the VISTA program does is cost-sharing. Under a cost-sharing agreement, VISTA project sponsors fund the entire

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125 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps VISTA Fact Sheet," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/factsheet_vista.pdf (accessed March 9, 2012).

126 AmeriCorps, "What AmeriCorps VISTA Members Do," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/for_individuals/choose/vista_activities.asp (accessed September 12, 2012).

127 Ibid.

128 Corporation for National and Community Service, *Overcoming Poverty, Building Capacity*, (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 2008), 3.

129 Digital Arts Service Corps, "How to Apply as a VISTA Member," (n.d.), http://digitalartscorps.org/apply/vista (accessed September 12, 2012).

stipend for a VISTA's housing, which equates to approximately $9,500 per year.[130] By cost-sharing, the organization (and sometimes the community) demonstrates a willingness to commit its own resources helping tackle the problem the VISTA is here to address. In turn, VISTA reaffirms its commitment to the organization and community by extending or expanding VISTA authorizations. VISTA offers educational benefits similar to those of the SN program, with one slight variation. Since VISTAs are typically older and many already have a college degree, "a cash payment of $100 per month of service" is offered in lieu of the Segal Award.[131]

c. AmeriCorps NCCC

The AmeriCorps NCCC is significantly different from either the AmeriCorps SN or VISTA programs. The AmeriCorps NCCC is a "full-time, team-based residential program for men and women."[132] The NCCC mission is to "strengthen communities and develop leaders through team-based national and community service."[133] In this program, small teams of NCCC workers partner with non-profit organizations and local communities to complete projects which could not be completed without additional manpower. These projects fall into the areas of disaster relief, "infrastructure improvement, environmental stewardship and conservation, energy conservation, and urban and rural development."[134] Over the course of a ten-month service period, 1,100 workers will typically serve in the NCCC.

These 1,100 NCCC workers are headquartered at one of five campuses which have regional responsibilities. The five resident campuses and their associated regional areas of responsibility are as follows: Colorado (Southwest Region), California

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130 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps VISTA," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/for_organizations/apply/vista.asp (accessed September 12, 2012).

131 AmeriCorps, "Frequently Asked Questions," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/for_individuals/faq/index.asp (accessed September 12, 2012).

132 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps NCCC Fact Sheet," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/factsheet_ac_nccc.pdf (accessed March 8, 2012).

133 AmeriCorps, "Frequently Asked Questions."

134 AmeriCorps, "Service Project Application," (n.d.), iii, http://www.americorps.gov/pdf/nccc_project_app.pdf (accessed September 8, 2012).

(Pacific Region), Maryland (Atlantic Region), Mississippi (South Region), and Iowa (North Central Region).[135] "Each campus serves as a headquarters for its multi-state region and can lodge and feed its entire regional corps, which ranges in size from 150 to 500 members."[136] While members serve in the NCCC, they are provided housing, meals, medical care, a $400 monthly stipend, childcare if necessary, and NCCC uniforms.[137] In a sense, the NCCC lifestyle seems similar to that of the military, which may explain why many alumni say that the NCCC "combines the best practices of civilian service with the best aspects of military service."[138] Obviously, the individuals attracted to the NCCC service want a certain type of service experience.

The individuals who serve in the NCCC are surprisingly non-diverse. For starters, men and women must be between eighteen and twenty-four years old to participate in the program. On average, they are twenty-one and a half years old.[139] Women comprise 68 percent of the NCCC and are predominately White. In fact, Whites dominate the NCCC landscape, comprising 86 percent of the population, which is far higher than in either the SN or VISTA programs.[140] The remainder of the NCCC is 5 percent Black, 4 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian, and 2 percent Other.[141] While not as ethnically diverse as other AmeriCorps programs, the NCCC can boost a higher educational baseline. In 2007, ninety-nine percent of NCCC participants had a high school degree, with 50 percent already having a Bachelor's degree when they entered the program.[142]

Again, what also distinguishes the NCCC from its sister programs is that it is a direct service program that offers hands-on work rather than asking its volunteers to

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135 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps NCCC Fact Sheet."

136 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps NCCC," (n.d.), http://www.americorps.gov/for_organizations/apply/nccc.asp (accessed September 12, 2012).

137 AmeriCorps, "Frequently Asked Questions."

138 AmeriCorps, "Service Project Application," iii.

139 CNCS, "Still Serving," 2.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid, 7–8.

142 Ibid, 9.

build community capacity. NCCC members work in small, highly mobile teams of ten to twelve individuals and tackle projects which range in scope from rehabilitating low-income housing to building and repairing trails in state parks to responding to natural disasters. If the projects are located relatively close to one the home campuses then workers commute daily. More often, workers are forward deployed to their project site for up to eight weeks at a time. While at the forward deployed sites, the NCCC workers establish temporary quarters, the nature of which depends on community availability; "accommodations have included camping, military facilities, youth hostels, cabins, private residences, dormitories, etc."[143] Given the flex built into this program, NCCC teams increasingly find themselves on the frontlines of disaster response.

Since 2000, AmeriCorps NCCC workers have assisted over seven million individuals in communities affected by floods, hurricanes, wildfires, and other disasters.[144] This includes "more than 3,100 NCCC members [who] have served in the Gulf Coast on more than 650 separate disaster-related services."[145] In March 2012, building on the seeming increase in major natural disasters, CNCS announced the establishment of a Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) Corps within the NCCC. The FEMA Corps will be a 1,600 member strong NCCC workforce whose members will be solely dedicated to disaster response and recovery.[146] As a result, the NCCC will double in size in the coming years.

Upon completion of the NCCC program, alumni earn the same Segal Education Award as participants in the SN and VISTA programs. If members opt to take a final exam prior to leaving the NCCC, they are eligible to receive three undergraduate credit hours in service learning or supervisory skills.[147] One compliment offered by

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143 AmeriCorps, "Frequently Asked Questions."

144 AmeriCorps, "AmeriCorps NCCC Fact Sheet."

145 CNCS, "Still Serving," 2.

146 Corporation for National and Community Service, "New FEMA-AmeriCorps Partnership Strengthens Response, Recovery Efforts Following Disasters," March 13, 2012, http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/newsroom/releases_detail.asp?tbl_pr_id=2081 (accessed September 13, 2012).

147 AmeriCorps, "Frequently Asked Questions."

alumni is that "those who have participated in both [AmeriCorps State and NCCC] overwhelmingly prefer the grueling NCCC to the less-demanding AmeriCorps program."[148]

2.   Senior Corps

The second of the major CNCS programs is the Senior Corps. The Senior Corps "taps the skills, talents, and experiences" of Americans age 55 and older to "meet a wide range of community challenges through three programs."[149] The three programs are the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program, the Foster Grandparent Program, and the Senior Companion Program. Each program has a slightly different focus and compensation scheme, but the benefits are largely the same. According to a CNCS press release, "a growing body of research points to mental and physical health benefits associated with volunteering, including lower mortality rates, increased strength and energy, decreased rates of depression, and fewer physical limitations."[150]

The Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), the largest and most diverse of the Senior Corps programs, serves as a clearinghouse for over 296,100 Americans looking to serve. Through the RSVP, volunteers are matched with opportunities based on their skill set or area of interest and their availability. These opportunities can range from "building houses to immunizing children . . . to improving and protecting the environment."[151] It is ultimately up to the volunteer to decide where and how often s/he wishes to serve, as there is no service commitment associated with the RSVP. In 2011, "RSVP volunteers provided 60 million hours of service through more than 65,000

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148 Gitell, "The Conservative Case for National Service," 4.

149 Senior Corps, "Senior Corps Fact Sheet," (n.d.), http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/factsheet_seniorcorps.pdf (accessed March 8, 2012).

150 Corporation for National and Community Service, "Volunteers 55+ Are Meeting Critical Needs; Represent Powerful Resource for Communities," May 7, 2012, http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/newsroom/releases_detail.asp?tbl_pr_id=2096 (accessed September 13, 2012).

151 Senior Corps, "What Is Senior Corps?" (n.d.), http://www.seniorcorps.gov/about/sc/index.asp (accessed March 7, 2012).

organizations."[152]   While performing this service, volunteers received no financial incentive other than reimbursement for out-of-pocket expenses, such as transportation costs.[153]

The second Senior Corps program is the Foster Grandparent Program (FGP). The FGP provides "loving and experienced tutors and mentors to children and youth with special needs" at schools, hospitals, drug treatment centers, correctional institutions, and child care centers.[154]   The 27,900 FGP volunteers serve between fifteen and forty hours per week in one-on-one sessions with kids.[155]   A recent CNCS performance survey of the program noted that "81 percent of the children served by Foster Grandparents demonstrated improvements in academic performance; 90 percent demonstrated improved self-image; and 59 percent reported a reduction in risky behavior."[156]   The success of the program is largely due to the commitment of the volunteers. Volunteers are required to commit to the FGP for at least one year in order to be able to build the trusting relationships upon which so much of their success depends. While serving in the FGP, volunteers receive meals, an allowance for transportation, additional medical insurance, and some may qualify for a small hourly stipend of $2.65 per hour.[157]

The third and smallest Senior Corps program is the Senior Companion Program which assists elderly adults "who have difficulty with the simple tasks of day-to-day living." By being provided assistance like help with shopping for groceries, performing light chores in their homes, and interacting with their doctors, elderly adults are able to maintain their independence in their own homes.[158]   In 2011, 13,600 Senior Companion volunteers performed these services for 60,940 seniors who needed assistance. Typically,

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152 CNCS, "Volunteers 55+ Are Meeting Critical Needs."

153 U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Community Service: A Description of AmeriCorps, Foster Grandparents, and Other Federally Funded Programs*, by Ann Lordeman and Alice D. Butler, CRS Report RL30186 (Washington, DC: Office of Congressional Information and Publishing, March 18, 2002).

154 Senior Corps, "Senior Corps Fact Sheet."

155 Ibid.

156 CNCS, "Volunteers 55+ Are Meeting Critical Needs."

157 Senior Corps, "Senior Corps Fact Sheet."

158 Senior Corps, "What Is Senior Corps?"

each volunteer serves between two and four clients a couple of times a week for anything from fifteen to forty hours. As with the FGP, Senior Companion volunteers receive meals, a transportation allowance, additional medical insurance, and some may qualify for a small hourly stipend.[159]

3.   Learn and Serve America

The third of the major programs within the CNCS portfolio is the Learn and Serve America program. Learn and Serve America (LSA) "offers a unique opportunity for [youth] to get involved in a tangible way by integrating community service projects with classroom learning."[160] Through the LSA program, financial grants are provided to foster school-community partnerships which form the basis of service-learning.[161] In service-learning, students are able to study a subject in the classroom and apply the knowledge they gain to a real-world issue within their community. A second aspect of the LSA program is to provide direct "training and technical assistance resources to teachers, administrators, parents, schools and community groups."[162]

Each year, over 1.3 million students, teachers, parents, and others participate in LSA programs. The majority of these programs operate at the K-12 level.   According to a 2006 Harris Poll, nearly 28 percent of young adults participated in a service-learning experience before the age of eighteen.[163] A national study indicated that "effective service-learning programs improved grades, increased attendance in school, and developed students' personal and social responsibility."[164]   While K-12 currently dominates the service-learning landscape, a significant number of post-secondary school programs have emerged. As of 2009, there were over 45,000 college students engaged in LSA programs operating in half of the country's community colleges and a quarter of its

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159 Senior Corps, "Senior Corps Fact Sheet."

160 Learn and Serve America, "What is Learn and Serve America?," (n.d.), http://www.learnandserve.gov/about/lsa/index.asp (accessed September 7, 2012).

161 Ibid.

162 Ibid.

163 Suzanne Martin, "Service-Learning and Transitioning to Adulthood," *Trends and Tudes* 5, no. 4 (2006): 1, http://nylc.org/sites/nylc.org/files/files/TrendsTudes_copyright.pdf (accessed August 19, 2012).

164 Learn and Serve America, "What is Service-Learning?"

universities.[165] One consequence is said to be that LSA participants are "more politically and socially connected to their communities than their peers, both as leaders and as role models for young adults."[166]

One of the newer LSA initiatives worth mentioning is the Summer of Service. Following completion of their school year, sixth to twelfth graders are encouraged to continue community service through the summer. As an incentive, LSA offers "an educational award of up to $500 for completing 100 hours of service."[167]

C.   PEACE CORPS

The Peace Corps is an independent U.S. government agency officially established on March 1, 1961. The Peace Corps provides trained volunteers around the world to countries requesting assistance with three goals in mind: helping the people of interested countries meet their need for trained men and women; helping promote a better understanding of Americans abroad; and helping Americans gain a better understanding of other peoples.[168] To fulfill these goals, the Peace Corps' volunteers "work with local governments, communities, schools, and small businesses to address changing and complex needs in education, health and HIV/AIDS, business and information communication technology (ICT), environment, agriculture, and youth development."[169]

In the fifty years since the first "ambassador of peace" arrived in Ghana, over 210,000 American volunteers have served in 139 countries.[170] Today, the Peace Corps has 9,095 volunteers serving in seventy-five countries, each on a twenty-seven month

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165 Learn and Serve America, "Learn and Serve America Fact Sheet," (n.d.), http://www.learnandserve.gov/pdf/factsheet_lsa.pdf (accessed September 7, 2012).

166 Martin, "Service-Learning and Transitioning to Adulthood," 5.

167 Nesbit and Brudney, "At Your Service?," S108.

168 Peace Corps, "Peace Corps Fact Sheet," April 2012, http://files.peacecorps.gov/multimedia/pdf/about/pc_facts.pdf (accessed August 8, 2012).

169 Ibid.

170 Lex Rieffel, "Policy Brief #127: Reconsidering the Peace Corps," *The Brookings Institution Policy Brief*, December 2003, 1, http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2003/12/globalgovernance-rieffel (accessed August 19, 2012). In a November 2, 1960 speech at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, California then Senator John F. Kennedy referred the term "ambassadors of peace" when referring to what would become the Peace Corps Volunteers.

long assignment which includes a ten-week in-country training phase. The individuals themselves largely reflect America's diversity—today's volunteers range in age from twenty to eighty-four and represent all fifty states. The average age of a Peace Corps volunteer is twenty-eight. Females comprise 61 percent of the Peace Corps and males make up the remaining 39 percent. In addition, 20 percent of volunteers are minorities and seven percent are over 50.[171]   Again, one also finds diversity in areas where volunteers serve.

The largest cohorts of Peace Corps volunteers (39 percent), serve on assignment in Africa. Latin America (24 percent), Eastern Europe and Central Asia (18 percent), and Asia (9 percent) receive the next largest numbers of volunteers. Peace Corps members even serve in some unexpected countries like China, but do so under the label of "U.S.-China Friendship Volunteers."[172]   By having volunteers serve under a different label, the Peace Corps is able to distance itself from U.S. foreign policy, which may not always be favorably viewed.

Regardless of where volunteers serve in the world, they receive a small living allowance, which is intended to allow them to live in a manner similar to that of the people within the community where they reside. In addition, there are certain educational opportunities to earn graduate-level credit for service work completed. Furthermore, the program offers forty-eight paid vacation days and a readjustment allowance upon completion of service. For the most part, however, individuals do not serve in the Peace Corps for its tangible benefits, but rather serve because it offers "a life-defining leadership opportunity."[173]   Volunteers return to the U.S. as global citizens, with leadership, language, cross-cultural understanding, and technical skills that position them well for professional opportunities.[174]   In *A Call to Civic Service*, Charles Moskos concludes that while the Peace Corps experience is one of immense personal growth, it

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171 Peace Corps, "Peace Corps Fact Sheet."

172 Rieffel, "Reconsidering the Peace Corps," 6.

173 Peace Corps, "What Are the Benefits?," (n.d.), http://www.peacecorps.gov/learn/whyvol/ (accessed September 15, 2012).

174 Peace Corps, "Peace Corps Fact Sheet."

still begs the question, "who is the major beneficiary of the program: the volunteer or the host country."[175] More than fifty years after its founding, Moskos's question is still relevant and largely unanswered. Yet, what cannot be disputed is that the program has proven itself to be a durable civilian national service program with high civic content.

D.   UNITED STATES MILITARY

The final area of national service which warrants examination is the military. America's oldest and largest government agency is the Department of Defense (DoD); the DoD can also be considered America's oldest service agency. The DoD is charged with providing military forces needed to deter war and to protect the security of our country.[176]   In upholding that charge, 1.4 million men and women serve on active duty with an additional 1.1 million serving in the National Guard and Reserve. Before moving on, one caveat is in order. As Moskos has pointed out, "the military is called the 'all-volunteer force' despite the fact that the soldiers are paid—and at a much higher rate than AmeriCorps participants."[177]   Nevertheless, many consider the military a calling or a way of life, as well as a service or a career. Recalling Moskos' observation, it is important to ask who the 2.3 million active, reserve, and guard service-members are and why more join their ranks each year.

According to the 2010 Department of Defense Population Representation in the Military Services Report, or Pop Rep for short, today's military recruiting environment is good.[178] In fact, in the last two years the DoD has experienced banner-year numbers, exceeding its recruiting goals each year in all branches of service.[179]   Several factors contribute to the success of recent recruiting.   While, regrettably, economic uncertainty

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175 Moskos, *A Call to Civic Service*, 53.

176 Department of Defense, "Mission," (n.d.) http://www.defense.gov/about/#mission (accessed August 24, 2012).

177 Ethiel, *National Service: Getting It Right*, 10.

178 Department of Defense, *Population Representation in the Military Services: Fiscal Year 2010 Summary Report*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2010), 2. The Population Representation in the Military Services is a report compiled by the DoD which provides the most up-to-date, reliable, and consistent data on military personnel for policy-makers, the media, and the general public.

179 Ibid.

concerns many Americans and unemployment remains relatively high, both contribute to the military's advantage.[180]   Other reasons youth join the military include educational benefits, the promise of citizenship, and altruism (or as one youth put it, "I want to make a difference").[181]   Yet, while recruiting and retention have been good in recent years, a number of factors are likely to challenge both in the future.

In 2001, Moskos identified that "the number of young people saying they would not serve in the military has risen from 40 to 63 percent since 1980."[182]   And this was before the last decade of war(s). Other factors likely to challenge the DoD in attracting bright, young Americans include a decline in youth influencers or role models (e.g., parents, teachers, guidance counselors, and coaches who push the military), higher numbers of young people going directly to college from high school, the military's high operational tempo, and an alarmingly large number of the young people who cannot meet the services' standards. As the Pop Rep indicates:

> Although the overall youth population is large, only a relatively small proportion of American youth is qualified to enlist. Over one-third of youth (35 percent) have a medical disqualification, with obesity a large contributing factor. Drug or alcohol abuse removes 18 percent, and another 23 percent do not meet our standards for reasons such as criminal misbehavior, low aptitude scores, or having more dependents than can reliably be accommodated in the early career. This leaves only 25 percent that [sic] are eligible to serve. If we subtract the estimated 10 percent who are qualified but attending college we are left with only 15 percent of the youth population who are eligible and available to serve.[183]

Essentially, "about 75 percent of America's 17- to 24-year olds are ineligible for military service due to lack of education, obesity and other physical problems, or criminal

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180 Ibid.

181 Jorge Mariscal, "Why Young People Join the Military," *AlterNet,* June 25, 2007*,* http://www.alternet.org/story/52233/the_making_of_an_american_soldier%3A_why_young_people_join_t he_military (accessed August 24, 2012).

182 Quoted in Gitell, "The Conservative Case for National Service," 8.

183 DoD, *Population Representation in the Military Services*, 2.

history."[184]   When all is said and done, the data reveal that service in the military is an option for some and not for others.

Among those the military hopes to entice into service are many of those in high school Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps, or JROTC programs, whose purpose is "to instill in students in [U.S.] secondary educational institutions the values of citizenship, service to the United States, and personal responsibility and a sense of accomplishment."[185]   The JROTC program is essentially a student-military partnership with aspects similar to those of the LSA program. While the JROTC program is not intended to be an officer-producing program, it does help funnel students into the military by impressing on them the value of service. Otherwise, recruitment is accomplished through recruiting store shop fronts.

E.   SUCCESSFUL DOMESTIC NATIONAL SERVICE PRACTICES

As this chapter indicates, the U.S. has had a long history of national service in one form or another. Today, national service comes in three distinct varieties. One can discern a series of characteristics and potentially useful applications to help shape a future U.S. national service model. Worth keeping in mind is that:

- Ways to serve need to be so varied that even the most selective individual can find something that is appealing.

- Future national service work must be valuable to the individual and not seen as a waste of time.

- The population needs to be made aware of the different types of service programs.

- Not every individual can serve in his/her area of choice. Also, some work, like anti-poverty work, requires individuals with a broader range of life and educational experiences.

- The name of a future national service program is important, both domestically and internationally. Domestically, the simple term "national

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184 Christian Davenport and Emma Brown, "Obesity, Poor Education Big Obstacles to Military Recruiting," *The Washington Post*, November 5, 2009, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/11/04/AR2009110402899.html (accessed September 3, 2012).

185 *Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps*, Public Law 109–364, U.S. Code Title V, 102 (2006): 1034, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCODE-2011-title10/pdf/USCODE-2011-title10-subtitleA-partIII-chap102-sec2031.pdf (accessed September 15, 2012).

service" can elicit smiles or frowns. On the international stage, a simple change of name to "U.S.-China Friendship Volunteers" from the Peace Corps can mean success or failure.

- Drawing on lessons from our Revolutionary and Civil War, fairness will matter in a future program. Allowing different classes to buy their way out of service defeats the aim of equality of service.

- Sustained leadership, from the President down to the elementary school teacher, is going to be required to nurture a culture of service.

- Individuals could receive educational credit for service, as is the case in the NCCC and Peace Corps today. Educational benefits will continue to attract many, but not all. Allowing recipients to receive cash in lieu of a financial grant or to transfer their grant to a dependent could be options.

- The government does not need to wholly fund service programs. AmeriCorps SN and VISTA illustrate how costs can be shared by the public and private sectors. Corporate sponsorship and selective advertising, like that done by NASCAR, should be considered.

- Small, diverse teams will bring together people from diverse backgrounds, akin to what the CYB or NCCC accomplishes.

- In most cases, the amount of service one can complete needs to be capped. Service is service, but no one should be able to homestead.

- Regional campuses like those of the NCCC could be used to bring a diverse set of individuals together before they disperse to individual service locations.

- Integrating learning and service together has proven to be successful, whether in traditional LSA programs or JROTC.

- Civic education has played an important role in the past and present; it needs to play an even bigger role in the future.

- Role models are essential to the success of any program. More positive influencers of youth will be needed in the future.

- With 75 percent of the target population not qualified to serve in the military, opportunities for service need to be provided to those still wishing to serve in some capacity.

- A future program can build on elements of today's national service infrastructure. The Selective Service System that exists today plays no role in recruiting, but it presumably could in the future for national service

purposes. For example, the Selective Service System registration process could offer service options: military service, domestic civilian service, or international civic service.[186]

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    186 Marc Magee, "From Selective Service to National Service: A Blueprint for Citizenship and Security in the 21st Century," *Progressive Policy Institute,* July 2003, 8, http://www.dlc.org/documents/NSS_0703.pdf (accessed August 17, 2012).

IV. FOREIGN EXAMPLES OF NATIONAL SERVICE

The concept of national service is not new to the rest of the world. Since the formation of countries or territories, leaders across the globe have been conscripting their citizens into armies to wage war on their behalf. The modern concept of national service where a nation enlists its citizens for the common good dates back to the late 1700's when the French drafted an army to defend the republic. Through the years, nations have turned to national service for a variety of reasons, but primarily as a means to generate soldiers to either wage war or defend against it. Soon, though, countries realized the benefits that non-military national service could offer.

The reasons for establishing a civilian version of national service have included "fostering national unity; making conscription more equitable; providing young people with employment-related experience; improving their employability; achieving such social objectives as helping poor people or the environment; and enabling students to pay for their education."[187] When exploring the idea of national service, it is noted that service programs "exist today in more than 50 countries."[188] More specifically, there are 159 separate service programs operating outside of the U.S. These service programs represent a wide variety of programs from mandatory to voluntary, government driven to locally initiated, part-time to full time, and offer a wide range of different compensation options.

A number of statements are often made about service programs that reveal how and why civilian service is accomplished. In a study of worldwide service programs conducted by Amanda McBride and Michael Sherraden, they note that, "eighty-one percent of the programs require servers to commit to the service experience on a full-time basis, which is equivalent to about 40 hours per week."[189] McBride and Sherraden also

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187 AJC, "Imagining America," 26.

188 McBride and Sherraden, "Toward a Global Research Agenda on Civic Service," 5S.

189 Amanda Moore McBride et al., "Civic Service Worldwide: Defining a Field, Building a Knowledge Base," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (December 2004): 13S, doi: 10.1177/0899764004269746 (accessed May 24, 2012).

identify some key commonalities in programs across the globe. For instance, nearly 75 percent of the programs are administered by non-profit or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and the remainder are organized and executed directly by the government. In the international community, only four percent of the programs are compulsory and the rest are categorized as voluntary. When examining the goals of the individual programs, "81 percent deliver human and social service and 80 percent engage in educational activities."[190] The remaining top programmatic goals are community development (77 percent), personal development (76 percent), environmental protection (67 percent), cultural integration (60 percent), and various health related activities (59 percent).[191] It is clear that there is significant overlap across the different goals.

To further appreciate the composition of international models of civilian national service consist, we dug a bit deeper into six programs. These six programs selected for more in-depth coverage include Israel, Nigeria, Canada, Germany, India, and Singapore. Together, they represent the range of differences to be found across types of programs as well as regions. They also highlight the different reasons why countries have turned to national service over the years. Each also enables us to examine operational frameworks in greater depth. "Operational framework" refers to the program's scope, timing, audience, compensation, impacts, and interesting applications or outcomes.

The goal in this chapter is simply to glean any nuggets about successful practices which might work in a future U.S. national service model.

A.   ISRAEL

The birth of Israel's national service program came shortly after the nation declared its independence in 1948. Israeli national service emerged in the form of a compulsory military draft. The draft system served as the mechanism that enabled the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) to fill its ranks and defend the newly sovereign country. A secondary intention of the draft system was to act as "a socialization instrument for the coalescence of a cohesive civilian society made up of immigrants from 82 countries

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190 Ibid.

191 Ibid.

around the world."[192] Despite attempting to act as a socializing mechanism, the draft in Israel excluded two main segments of the population from mandatory service. First, ultra-conservative Jewish sects, like the Haredim were exempt from service since taking up arms violates their religious principles. The second and more significant exemption affected Arabs residing within Israel. Arabs represented nearly 20 percent of the total Israeli population at the time.[193] Arab-Israelis were exempted from service to avoid placing them in a situation whereby they would be forced to take up arms against other Arabs in defense of Israel. In reality, the Jewish population feared that the Arabs might turn their guns on the Jewish majority if war ever broke out. These initial religious and ethnic exemptions have continued, meanwhile, the compulsory nature of the draft for Jewish citizens has also eased over time.

Participation rates in the IDF have dropped from nearly universal—with 80 percent of the population serving—to below 50 percent today. Several reasons explain the decline, but most attribute the drop-off to the professionalization of the IDF throughout the 1990s. The professionalization of the IDF may have been desirable militarily, but loosening the compulsory nature of the draft threw the social cohesion element of the program into limbo. According to Donald Eberly and Reuven Gal, many Israelis believe that "service by young people is vital to national development" and a "rite of passage to adulthood."[194] Without it some Israelis feared Israel would see slower national development and fewer young men ready for adulthood. In fact, Israelis recognized that a decline in service opportunities would have a negative impact on their population decades ago, and in 1971 started offering alternative national service avenues.[195] As an alternative to military service in the IDF, many draftees were funneled

192 Maggie Bar-Tura and Nicole Fleischer, "Civic Service in Israel," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (December 2004): 52S, doi: 10.1177/0899764004269742 (accessed May 24, 2012).

193 Ethan Bronner, "After 60 Years, Arabs in Israel are Outsiders," *The New York Times*, May 7, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/07/world/middleeast/07israel.html?pagewanted=all (accessed August 2, 2012).

194 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 25.

195 Sherut Leumi, "What is National Service?," (n.d.), http://www.sherut-leumi.co.il/article.aspx?id=61 (accessed August 19, 2012).

into both police and border units that provided a similar experience to that of the IDF. Another alternative to IDF service could be found in one of four civilian national service programs, the largest being Sherut Leumi.

Sherut Leumi provides an opportunity for Israelis between seventeen and twenty-four to serve through a voluntary service program. The concept of Sherut Leumi is that young men and women are exposed to different environments within Israeli society. The intent is that through exposure to various aspects of society, the volunteers will have the same kinds of broadening experiences as their peers in the military. The majority of the 9,000 Sherut Leumi volunteers "work in schools but can also work in places such as special education, administration, hospitals, law, geriatrics, nursing homes, health clinics, teens at risk, internal security, disadvantaged communities, immigrant assistance, and many other organizations." [196] Volunteers typically work a thirty to forty hour work week for the length of their individual program, which can vary between twelve and twenty-four months. While participating in the program, volunteers are provided housing, food, training, transportation, insurance, and more, all of which is estimated to cost $9,000 per year for each volunteer.[197] Of note, the funding for the program is not solely borne by the government. Nearly half of the volunteers work directly for NGOs (e.g. Israel's Red Cross or Magen Daven Adom) that pay for their services.[198] Upon completion of the program, volunteers receive a financial grant of between $1,500 and $3,000, which is equivalent to what non-combatant IDF women soldiers receive upon completion of their service.[199] The grant can be used for a variety of purposes to include education, or it can be put toward buying a house or even paying for a wedding.

Other national service opportunities in Israel include Shnat Sherut (Pre-Army Service), Shalem (Elder Service), and Amitim (International Service). Shnat Sherut consists of 1,200 recently graduated high school volunteers who perform different forms of community service for a twelve-month period prior to their IDF service. The

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196 Bar-Tura and Fleischer, "Civic Service in Israel," 53S.

197 Ibid, 54S.

198 Ibid, 53S.

199 Ibid, 54S.

volunteers are provided room, board, and a small stipend while they serve.[200] Shalem is a 1,800-volunteer-strong service organization serving retirees that operates in small units across the country. Volunteers serve two to three days a week in their communities in a variety of areas to include health, education, welfare, and special needs assistance, but do not receive any compensation for this service. The fourth and final national service opportunity is Amitim. Amitim is a Jewish diaspora program that sends twenty-one to twenty-seven year old volunteers to former Soviet republics to undertake community development and education projects. The program is nine months long and includes a one month training period. Upon completion of service, volunteers are provided a small grant comparable to that offered by Sherut Leumi.[201]

Interesting to note is the diversity, or lack thereof, of participation in Israeli national service programs, which raises questions about the effectiveness of the programs in melding together cross-sections of society. The IDF and each of the alternative national service programs are open to Israelis of any religious background, except the Amitim which is solely a Jewish program. In 2010, only 1,473 Arabs were serving in any form of national service out of a pool of roughly 28,100 Arab eighteen-year-olds.[202] This represents an Arab service rate of just over five percent within all national service programs. With such low Arab participation in any form of national service, it is difficult to believe that the cohesive effect of the program is significant across Israel's entire population. Robert Putnam, author of *Bowling Alone*, would likely describe the Israeli model of national service as a program that has a good deal of bonding social capacity, but lacks bridging social capacity. Specifically, the Jewish portions of the population are bonded together via the IDF and other national service programs, but the bridge linking the Jews to Arab segments of the population is almost totally absent. In 2012, Israel went even further to strengthen the social glue in the Jewish community when service exemption for the Haredim, which had been in place since 1948, was ruled

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200 Ibid, 55S.

201 Ibid, 56S.

202 Aviel Magnezi, "Rise in Arab National Service Volunteers," *Israel News*, October 25, 2010, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3974580,00.html (accessed August 2, 2012).

unconstitutional by the Israeli Supreme Court.[203]   With this ruling, even the ultra-conservative Jewish population within Israel will be required to serve in the IDF.

B.   NIGERIA

The Nigerian model of national service is one of the more fascinating examples we examined. In 1973, in response to a "clash of parties, ethnic tensions, corrupt organizations, agitations for new states, riots, and violence finally leading to the attempted secession of Biafra and a long bloody civil war," the Nigerian government established the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC).[204]   The goals of the NYSC were "to 'develop common ties among the youths of Nigeria,' increase self-reliance, promote inter-ethnic understanding, national loyalty, integration, and unity, and to maximize the utilization of the countries [sic] human resources."[205]   It was believed "that exposure to a part of the country unfamiliar to the participants, interactions with fellow workers and local people, and enhanced knowledge of traditions and language would lead to greater tolerance, an increase in national consciousness, and a willingness to take up a job anywhere in the country after completion of service."[206]

The NYSC program requires one year of mandatory service for all Nigerian university and polytechnic graduates. Participants, or cadets as they are known within Nigeria, attend a four-week orientation and training program and then are posted to a duty assignment for ten months. At the mid-point of their service, cadets initially conducted a 3-week community service project separate from the duty assignment, which rounded out the overall program to a full year in length. The 3-week community service project was eventually phased out and instead became an independent track within the NYSC.

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203 Linda Pressly, "Israel's Ultra-Orthodox Fight to be Exempt From Military Service," *BBC News Magazine*, September 11, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-19492627 (accessed September 27, 2012).

204 Otwin Marenin, "Implementing Deployment Policies in the National Youth Service Corps of Nigeria Goals and Constraint," *Comparative Political Studies* 22, no. 4 (January 1990), 398, doi: 10.1177/0010414090022004002 (accessed July 16, 2012).

205 Ibid, 399.

206 Ibid.

The majority of work done by the NYSC—nearly 70 percent—focuses on teaching. What a cadet teaches depends on what the cadet studied at university or polytechnic school. For example, agriculture graduates would focus on teaching farmers good crop and pesticide management, while economic graduates would teach money management. The remaining 30 percent of cadets serve in other government agencies and even some private organizations.[207] Cadets are provided room, board, transportation, and a small government stipend during their service year. One of the unique aspects of this program is that cadets are not allowed to serve in their home states.[208] Cadets are posted to distant parts of Nigeria in an attempt to foster diverse relationships across Nigeria. Upon completion of the NYSC year, Nigerians attend a passing out ceremony where they receive their Certificate of National Service. The certificate is mandatory to obtain work in the public or private sector within Nigeria.

Many Nigerians consider the NYSC program a huge success. According to Eberly and Gal, "The educational, agricultural, and community development sectors of Nigeria were substantially advanced in the last quarter of the 20th Century by the hundreds of thousands of university graduates who served in the NYSC."[209] Not only did benefits accrue to the community in which the cadets served, but through the experiences the cadets gained. A 1993 study concluded that cadets did not initially like being posted far away from their homes but "in retrospect nine out of ten had positive feelings."[210] Other evidence of the benefits of the program are evidenced in statements like, "I went in a Northerner and came out a Nigerian."[211]

Unfortunately, the success of the program has waned in recent years due to a sharp increase in programmatic corruption.[212] A downturn in the Nigerian economy following a drop in oil prices provided opportunities for officials managing the

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207 Ibid, 423.

208 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 26.

209 Ibid, 54.

210 AJC, "Imagining America," 29.

211 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 27.

212 Igho Oyoyo, "Nigeria: Massive Corruption Provoked Current Insurgency," *Africa News*, May 13, 2012, http://allafrica.com/stories/201205140555.html (accessed August 19, 2012).

Certificates of National Service to become susceptible to corruption. There are numerous allegations that NYSC officials accepted money from college graduates in exchange for providing NYSC completion certificates without graduates actually performing any service. [213] This basically meant that wealthy Nigerian college graduates could buy themselves out of their national service requirement. In addition, corruption was witnessed among the NYSC officials who handed out the postings.[214] A number of officials would post graduates to their home states or to locales where they could live near family members for a certain price. This was a far cry from receiving a posting in a far off place in Nigeria, which was the original intent of the program. With rampant corruption calling into question the universality of national service, the NYSC has further suffered thanks to terrorism in northern Nigeria. After cadets were killed in 2012, the NYSC Director General decided to eliminate postings in areas where they could be subject to terrorist activities.[215]

C. CANADA

Canada's approach to national service represents one of the smaller and more focused programs. According to Sherraden and Eberly, "During the 1970s, the separatist movement in Quebec had accentuated the split between Anglophone and Francophone cultures in Canada." [216] In an effort to reconnect Canada, the government instituted a program called Katimavik (an Inuit word meaning "meeting place") in 1977. The initial goals of this program centered on bringing "young people together, encouraging them to understand each other, and learning a second official language (French or English)."[217] Small groups of twelve Canadians—two-thirds Anglophone, one-third Francophone and one-half male and one-half female—were brought together from across the country. The groups would live and work with each other while they conducted three-month service

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213 Ivor A. Ekpe, "NYSC – Now Your Suffering Continues?," (n.d.), http://debateandreview.com/law/lib/416-nysc--now-your-suffering-continues (accessed August 4, 2012).

214 Ibid.

215 Ibid.

216 Donald Eberly and Michael Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 8.

217 Ibid.

projects.[218] The aim behind the service projects was to have participants give back to society while being exposed to different aspects of Canadian diversity. The program continued through the mid-1980s when a political struggle within the Canadian government led to its funding being cut. In 1993 the Katimavik program was revived.

The revived Katimavik program expanded its focus from solely conducting service projects to environmental protection, while still maintaining the aim of cultural integration. During the 2011–2012 program year, over 1,100 volunteers, ages seventeen to twenty-one, were enrolled in the program in 104 separate groups of eleven volunteers each.[219] Volunteers serve thirty-five to forty hours a week in one of five non-governmental programs over the course of six months. The Katimavik program focuses volunteers in one of the following areas: cultural discovery and civic engagement, secondary languages and cultural identity, community service, ecocitizenship, or active living.[220] During the nights and weekends, volunteer engage in competency development and community service with their groups. Volunteers are provided transportation, housing, food, basic necessities, program fees, and a daily allowance of two dollars for incidentals. Volunteers can also receive some college level credit for their service in the program at most public universities and colleges within Canada.[221]

The impacts of the program have been judged to be positive. In 1985, just after the program was halted for political reasons, 86 percent of the participants found the program to be useful.[222] In addition, support within the communities where services were rendered also remained high. In a 2010–2011 program survey, 90 percent of the community partners "indicated that the Katimavik volunteers' involvement improved their capacity to accomplish their daily tasks."[223] Additionally, 88 percent of participants

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218 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 37.

219 Katimavik, "Frequently Asked Questions," (n.d), http://www.katimavik.org/faq, under General Information, (accessed July 22, 2012).

220 Ibid.

221 Ibid.

222 Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 15.

223 Katimavik, "Katimavik Facts," (n.d), http://www.katimavik.org/sites/default/files/katimavik_facts_-_final_-_en.pdf (accessed July 22, 2012).

described Katimavik as "one of the best experiences of their lives."[224] Despite these favorable reviews, the Canadian government once again challenged the value of the program given the costs. On March 29, 2012, the Canadian government removed funding for the program for the foreseeable future.[225] According to the last released statistics, the Katimavik program cost $15,935,470 to administer and the volunteers rendered services worth $10,749,518, thus rendering it not sufficiently cost-effective in the government's eyes.[226]

D.   GERMANY

In 1956 West Germany re-introduced military conscription for all males as part of its Cold War defensive posture. The conscripted forces served in the German military for a period of twelve months upon turning eighteen years of age; however, there were a number of available exemptions to service.[227]   For instance, West Germany's post-war constitution stipulated "no one shall be forced to do war service with arms against his conscience."[228] For reasons of equity, Germans not inclined to serve in the military were offered an alternative form of service called Zivildienst.

Zivildienst was intended to equalize the hardships between soldiers and conscientious objectors by having conscientious objectors accomplish "national service with other means and without arms."[229] The Zivis, as those in Zivildienst came to be known, would perform underpaid social work "in the fields of nursing and social welfare (61.4 percent); handicrafts (11.9 percent); ambulance and rescue services (9.1 percent); and individual care for seriously disabled persons (6.1 percent)."[230] Zivis were paid

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224 Ibid.

225 Althia Raj, "Katimavik Cuts: Budget 2012 Kills Trudeau-Era Federal Program," *Huffington Post Canada*, May 29, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2012/03/28/katimavik-cuts-budget-2012-canada-federal_n_1385668.html (accessed August 15, 2012).

226 Katimavik, "Katimavik Facts."

227 Tom Leach, "Auf Wiedersehen, Wehrpflicht: Germany abandons national service," *Next-Europe*, http://next-europe.info/2011/07/25/german-military/ (accessed July 22, 2012).

228 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 21.

229 Eberly and Sherraden, *The Moral Equivalent of War?*, 140.

230 Ibid, 141.

similarly to their military counterparts, but had the opportunity to live at home rather than in government provided quarters. In the beginning, the overall length of Zivildienst service was slightly longer than military service since military service was typically performed fifty hours per week and Zivildienst service was only performed for forty hours per week. The length of service between the two programs eventually came to stabilize at nine months for each program. By the late 1980s, over 130,000 West German males were serving as Zivis at any one time.[231]

With the reunification of Germany in 1990, the Zivildienst program was expanded nationwide. By 2000, nearly 38 percent of eighteen-year-old German males identified themselves as COs which allowed them to qualify for Zivildienst service.[232] It was not until the turn of the 21st century that Germany started to reevaluate the objectives of its national programs. With the end of the Cold War and reunification of Germany, mandatory military service no longer seemed necessary. While most Germans agreed that conscription should be ended, there was the question of what to do with the Zivildienst program. It had become so entrenched in German society that its elimination would cut off vital social services. Consequently, Germany openly debated military conscription and Zivildienst service for a number of years. In 2009, conscription in Germany was reduced from nine months to six months which drew a number of complaints from across the country, but not as "military moaning—it was the [cut in] social services."[233] In light of economic conditions, and keeping with other austerity measures, the German government realized it could cut eight billion euros out of its budget by ending Zivildienst, and it did so in 2011.[234] On July 1, 2011, Germany took the final step and ended military conscription and the Zivildienst.

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231 Eberly and Gal, *Service Without Guns*, 22.

232 Ibid.

233 Charlotte Frank, "Germany's Scaling Back of National Service Leaves Voluntary Sector Confused," *The Guardian*, November 22, 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/nov/22/germany-national-service-changes-voluntary-sector (accessed July 17, 2012).

234 Leach, "Auf Wiedersehen."

Two of the lesser known national service programs within Germany continue to prosper. The Voluntary Social Year and Voluntary Ecological Year provide opportunities for young Germans to be "assigned to care for very old persons and disabled persons" or perform environmental conservation work.[235] Volunteers "are guaranteed at least twenty-five days training, paid for by the state, as well as receive credit points for university study."[236] In addition, volunteers receive a small subsistence stipend during their year. One of the more unique benefits of these programs is that not "only do the service volunteers themselves get full social insurance protection but the parents of volunteers also benefit getting a child allowance and tax reductions during the period of their offspring's service."[237] It is envisioned that these two programs along with traditional volunteering—36 percent of the population above the age of fourteen is engaged in some kind of pro bono work—will fill in the gap left by the end of Zivildienst service.[238]

E.   INDIA

The concept of national service in India was first discussed shortly after the country's independence from Britain in 1947. Mahatma Gandhi, known to many as the Father of India, believed that the "villages, where the majority of the population lived, represented the country [sic] India."[239] In his view, national service would bring the villages together with the cities and close the religious divide that had existed between the Hindu and Muslims. Gandhi believed that national service would provide the "sinews of the nation with the national goods and services so essential to society."[240] National service would be accomplished via two similar yet distinct programs: the National Cadet

235 AJC, "Imagining America," 29.

236 Justin Davis Smith, "Civic Service in Western Europe," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (December 2004): 71S, doi: 10.1177/0899764004269744 (accessed May 24, 2012).

237 Ibid.

238 Frank, "Germany's Scaling Back of National Service."

239 Government of India, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, "National Service Scheme Manual (Revised)," 2006, 13, http://nss.nic.in/anounc.asp (accessed June 3, 2012).

240 Government of India, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, "Introduction," (n.d.), http://NSS.NIC.IN/Intro.asp (accessed June 3, 2012).

Corps (NCC)—which represented a nationalization of the University Officer Training Corps—and the National Service Scheme (NSS).

In 1963, India mandated compulsory service in the National Cadet Corps (NCC). The NCC would act as military reserve forces, but also take on some of the social responsibilities envisioned by national service programs. NCC officers and cadets would receive some basic military training in order to be able to act as a second-wave defense force, along with being actively engaged in community development and social services across India. By 1968, the compulsory aspect of the NCC was eliminated and a revamped program was introduced.

Currently, there are 1,300,000 Indians serving in the NCC through 4,816 colleges and 8,029 schools. The mission of the NCC is to develop "character, comradeship, discipline, leadership, secular outlook, spirit of adventure, and ideals of selfless service amongst the youth of the country," creating a "human resource of organized, trained and motivated youth, to provide leadership in all walks of life and be always available for the service of the Nation," and to provide a "suitable environment to motivate the youth to take up a career in the Armed Forces."[241] Males and females who wish to serve in the NCC can do so in the Junior Division (a program for middle school and high school students) or the Senior Division (for college students). Volunteers participate in the program for between two and three years, accomplishing a minimum of four hours of service each week during the school year. During the summer school break, students are required to attend either a ten or fourteen day training camp depending on the division in which they are enrolled. The entire program is funded by the Indian Government and beyond the prestige associated with participating, youth receive compensation in the form of limited school or university credits. It also can help youth volunteers who seek to join the military or government to have completed service.[242]

The second national service initiative in India is the NSS, which grew out of the NCC in 1969. The primary purpose of the NSS is to develop the Indian citizenry through

241 Government of India, National Cadet Corps, "Planning and Coordination," (n.d.), http://nccindia.nic.in/rti/pc.pdf (accessed August 17, 2012).

242 Ibid.

public service. Today, the NSS program engages over 3,200,000 students annually at 340 different universities, colleges, and vocational institutions. Student volunteers "spend 120 hours in regular activities in adopted villages, colleges, school campuses and urban slums . . . and participate in a special camp for 10 days . . . during vacations by involving local communities in specific projects."[243] The volunteers complete their service under the tutelage of faculty who, in turn, may extend them some level of academic credit for their services. Other than academic credit, no other compensation is provided unless the volunteers attend NSS programs outside their area of study. Programs outside their area of study include those held at NSS National Integration Centers (NIC). The NICs are "short-term residential camps of [sic] the adolescents and youth with a view to instill the spirit of national integration, through various camp activities."[244] While attending a NIC, volunteers are provided room and board, but otherwise no financial compensation. One interesting aspect of the NIC is that 25 percent of the camp's population is required to come from areas linguistically and culturally different from the area where the camp is located. This forces the integration of students from different states, and also encourages mixing among Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, and other Indians. However, in a country with a population over one billion, only 65,000 are exposed to NICs annually, which represents far less than 1 percent of the NSS's potential target population, so its overall effectiveness remains questionable.

F.   SINGAPORE

National service was quick to evolve on the tiny island nation of Singapore. Following the end of WWII, Singaporeans pressed the British for a significantly increased role in self-government. The British responded by introducing the National Service Ordinance in 1954, the concept of which was that "people seeking self-

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243 Alok Chantia, "Awareness Regarding Activities of National Service Scheme: An Appraisal," *The Anthropologist* 10 (2008): 289, http://www.krepublishers.com/02-Journals/T-Anth/Anth-10–0–000–08-Web/Anth-10–4–000–08-Abst-PDF/Anth-10–4–289–08-486-Chantia-A/Anth-10–4–289–08–486-Chantia-A-Tt.pdf (accessed May 25, 2012).

244 Government of India, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, "National Programme for Youth and Adolescent Development," (n.d.), 16, http://nss.nic.in/anounc.asp (accessed June 6, 2012).

government should be able to defend themselves."[245]   Under the ordinance, all males between 18 and 20 needed to register with the government for part-time national service in the Singapore Military Force or the Civil Defense Force. The ethnic Chinese on the island rejected the ordinance as a discriminatory tool used by the British and responded with a rather violent wave of anti-ordinance rioting. The British rescinded the National Service Ordinance; however, national service would reemerge.

Following independence and a tearful separation from the Malaysian Federation, the newly independent Singapore had to decide how best to defend its sovereignty. On February 21, 1967 Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew announced that the defense of the nation would switch to "a large citizen army based on conscription and long term compulsory reservist service."[246]   Singapore's National Service (NS) Bill of 1967 stipulated that all males, on reaching 18 years of age, would serve for a period of 24-months in one of three branches of service: the Armed Forces, Police Force, or the Civil Defense Force.

While defense is the primary aim of the NS program, the Singapore government realized that it could also serve as a nation building tool "by bringing young Singaporeans from diverse backgrounds together . . . to forge unity and cohesion among Singaporeans."[247]   To meet defense requirements and to forge national unity, the entire population regardless of ethnicity, religion, economic standing, or educational level had to serve; however, limited exemptions to service have been granted for medical reasons, though even in the case of obesity, Singapore does not grant waivers. Rather, obese Singaporeans are required to attend a fitness camp prior to their basic military training.

National Servicemen, or NSmen as they are referred to in Singapore, are provided all the service-specific clothing and equipment that they will require during their service.

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245 Nor-Afidah Abd Rahman, "National Service Riots of 1954," *National Library of Singapore*, http://infopedia.nl.sg/articles/SIP_1202_2006–07–28.html (accessed June 9, 2012).

246 Eng Chuan Ong, "National Service in Singapore: Early Years," *National Library of Singapore*, http://infopedia.nl.sg/articles/SIP_692_2005–02–01.html (access June 9, 2012).

247 Singapore Ministry of Defense, "Benefits of NS," (n.d.), http://iprep.ns.sg/benefits-of-ns.html (accessed June 17, 2012).

In addition, NSmen are provided room, board, medical care, dental care, and a monthly service stipend. The stipend NSmen receive depends on their rank and level of responsibility within their service.

Singapore has long touted the success of its national service program, but it has not been wholly challenge-free. According to Sean Walsh, "official discrimination against the Malay population remains an open secret among the Singaporean military."[248] Discrimination of Malays stems from a lack of trust by the ethnic Chinese population and also from fear about where Malays' loyalty lies. The lack of trust dates back to the late 1950s and early 1960s when the island saw fighting between Chinese and Malay communities. Discrimination, however, does not relieve the Malays of service. But rather than service in the military, Malays are funneled toward the police and civil defense forces.[249]

Despite endemic distrust of the Malay population, the NS program can be deemed a success in terms of creating national unity. Since the program's inception in 1967, "more than 900,000 men have undergone the NS rite of passage."[250] In a country that has a population of around four million, that figure represents nearly a quarter of all Singaporeans. The NS can be credited in part for national survey results that show that "78 percent of the respondents considered themselves to be more Singaporean than a member of any particular race."[251] Even the discrimination toward the Malays appears to be easing as evidenced by the recent promotion of an ethnic Malay to the general officer ranks of the Armed Forces.[252]

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248 Sean P. Walsh, "The Roar of the Lion City: Ethnicity, Gender, and Culture in the Singapore Armed Forces," *Armed Forces & Society* 33, no. 2 (2007): 273, http://search.proquest.com/docview/59749471?accountid=12702 (accessed June 16, 2012).

249 Michael D. Barr, "Muslims in Singapore," *Asia Insights* no. 3 (2008): 20, http://search.proquest.com/docview/197463389?accountid=12702 (accessed June 18, 2012).

250 Jermyn Chow, "NS: Priceless Privilege," *The Straits Times*, June 2, 2012, http://www.straitstimes.com/Review/Others/STIStory_806086.html (accessed June 4, 2012).

251 Stephan Ortmann, "Singapore: The Politics of Inventing National Identity," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 4 (2009): 34, http://hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/jsaa/article/viewFile/169/169 (accessed June 16, 2012).

252 Nicholas Yong, "SAF's First Malay General," *AsiaOne News*, June 26, 2009, http://news.asiaone.com/News/AsiaOne+News/Singapore/Story/A1Story20090626–151072.html (accessed June 7, 2012).

G.   SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN NATIONAL SERVICE PRACTICES

Given the preceding close examination of six different foreign national service models, we can say that while the success of each program has varied, there are certain characteristics and useful applications from across them which *may* work in a future U.S. national service model. These characteristics and potential applications are:

- The program should include all demographics. Israel's program showcases what happens when certain demographics are excluded and how this can contribute to further segregation by creating bonding versus bridging relationships that the program was envisioned to foster. [253]

- Funding for the program does not need to be solely borne by the government. NGOs within Israel share operational costs for volunteers engaged in their programs.

- Financial incentives received on completion of service should have limited application, as in Israel where the grant's uses were limited to activities like pursuing education or helping with the down payment on a home.

- Another method is to link completion of the program to employment. The Certificate of National Service completion presented in Nigeria is mandatory for any college-educated Nigerian to obtain work, which forces compliance.

- "I came out a Nigerian" or "I consider myself more Singaporean than any particular race" should be statements that a program strives to achieve.

- To work, a program needs to be viewed as valuable by the government *and* the population. Additionally, the value cannot just be measured in terms of financial costs versus benefits since its true value lies in intangible benefits to both the individual and society.

- Small diverse groups can work and live together without having to house thousands of people under the same roof. The Katimavik program provided a tremendous amount of flexibility in Canada, so do the NICs in India.

- Offering unique benefits to the parents of national service members (like tax breaks for parents under the Zivildienst model) may help parents encourage service from their children.

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253 Bar-Tura and Fleischer, "Civic Service in Israel," 62S.

- Service does not have to be full time as evidenced in India's programs. Programs can extend over a couple years with service being accomplished a few hours per week during high school or college.

V.   FUTURE OF NATIONAL SERVICE

Drawing on national service theory and our examination of domestic and foreign national service programs, how should a future national service program be structured? As John McCain put it, "national service is a crucial means of making our patriotism real, to the benefit of both ourselves and our country."[254] To make it real in the U.S., we offer ten prescriptions for building a true national service program. Admittedly, the prescriptions would amount to a drastic and sweeping change for many Americans, with an overall aim of returning the country to its greatness. A future national service program must do the following:

A.   UNIVERSALITY IS A MUST . . . YES, IT MUST BE COMPULSORY

- All men and women must participate in a program to achieve the desired benefits of national service. As evidenced by case studies in Israel, Singapore, and India, without full participation the outcomes of the program will never fully meet the original objectives.

- Service must be accomplished by men and women some time between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. For example, high school dropouts could serve as early as sixteen years of age. Others could serve upon completing high school, and could use their national service experience to explore different possibilities for where they may seek work afterwards. For others, by expanding the upward boundary for service to twenty-five, individuals could complete college prior to completing their service.

- Our own history during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars has shown that when military service is not fully undertaken by all parts of American society, the burden of service falls to the poor, which certainly does not bind society more closely together.

- As practiced in Nigeria, completion certificates should have to be presented upon completion of service and should be required for obtaining work within the U.S. This would ensure compliance with the program.

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254 John McCain, "Patriotism Means Reaching Beyond our Own Self-Interest," in *United We Serve: National Service and the Future of Citizenship*, eds. E.J. Dionne, Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, and Robert E. Litan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), 67.

B.   SERVICE IS MORE THAN FULL-TIME

- The length of service could vary by service type with the typical obligation lasting one year. However, a program where an individual serves in a physically demanding or austere environment, such as on a trail construction crew in Appalachia may only need to require service for nine months. The military, where a significant investment is made to train members, would require an eighteen month service commitment. At the high end, service in the Peace Corps would remain at its current twenty-seven months.

- Service should be performed thirty-five to forty hours per week. One nuance is that, as in Canada's Katimavik program, during some nights and weekends, individuals might engage in competency development or other community-related activities to promote specific national service objectives, such as fulfilling local and social needs.

- Service needs to remain service and not become a job. Following completion of an individual's service obligation, s/he can seek employment or other opportunities with the same organization, but not under the auspices of national service. For example, upon completing one's national service in the military, an individual should have the opportunity to re-enlist and pursue the military as a career option.

C.   SO MANY DIFFERENT WAYS TO SERVE

- A key finding of examining national service is the notion that a successful program must provide a wide variety of service options. Service options should overlap almost every sector of society: finance, the environment, healthcare, education, disaster response, military and foreign service.

- Fully recognizing that not every individual can serve where they would want, it needs to be recognized that some areas, e.g., anti-poverty work, simply require someone with a broader range of life and educational experiences.

- A national service program should eliminate some, but not all, of the opportunities which exist under current domestic service programs. The national service program should absorb a significant portion of AmeriCorps SN and the entire NCCC. The Senior Corps and portions of AmeriCorps SN and VISTA should remain as they are today to allow for a lifetime of service opportunities for individuals.

D.   EVERYONE IS INVOLVED—IT IS A CULTURE OF SERVICE

- Service needs to be accepted by everyone with an understanding that everyone has a role to play. For its part, the government needs to make service a sustained priority. This means that a program cannot be reduced

or cut (as occurred with the CCC, Zivildienst in Germany, the NSS in India, and the IDF in Israel) as other national priorities emerge. Parents, meanwhile, need to encourage and motivate youth to find the right area in which to serve.

- Service needs to be viewed as valuable. The value cannot be measured just in terms of financial cost-benefit terms. The value in service lies in the benefits that accrue for both the individual and society in terms of social glue, civic engagement, and democratic commitments that service inspires.

- Role models are critical to the success of future service programs. Young people will benefit greatly from seeing former service members both draw on and speak about their service experiences. Leadership by and encouragement from service members are both powerful elements, vital in motivating future generations.

E. SERVICE STARTS EARLY

- Service-learning programs (LSA, JROTC, and India's NCC) build the foundation for national service. Planting a seed of service early in an adolescent's life makes accepting the concept of service palatable when it comes time for an individual to fulfill his/her obligation.

- Advising a service-learning organization, much like teaching, should be a viable service option within the education sector.

F. FUNDING OPTIONS

- The burden of national service funding should not rest entirely with the federal government. AmeriCorps SN and VISTA already show how funding can be shared by the public and private sectors. A number of creative and collaborative avenues for funding exist which need to be explored. For example, corporate sponsorship and selective advertising similar to that of NASCAR should be considered. Imagine corporate logos on the shirts of national service workers, or service project sponsorship highlighted through signs similar to those by state highway departments via the "Adopt a Highway" program.

- Partnering with NGOs provides another opportunity to share costs. Numerous Israeli models exist on how to share operational costs for volunteers engaged in service programs.

- Local communities that directly benefit from the services gained could assist in both cost and resource sharing. When a national service program is participating in an area, the local community or even religious organizations within that community could provide room, board, and even transportation costs. For example, the local Monterey and Carmel

69

communities provided NCCC workers with room and board when they participated in a trail improvement project at Point Lobos State Reserve. This concept could certainly be scaled up, while still staying locally rooted.

G. BUILDING THE BRIDGE IS THE KEY

- Bridging the different racial, social, ethnic, and economic fissures in society is the key to overall success of any national service program. The most productive bridging is likely to occur among small platoons of individuals who live and work together (a la CYB, NCCC, the military, or Katimavik in Canada). For certain types of service, interacting in small, diverse teams is impractical. These cases require a different form of participation; forums like India's National Integration Centers could provide individuals exposure to peers from different backgrounds.

- Individuals need to understand the significance of working with and for something beyond themselves. As one AmeriCorps NCCC veteran put it, "My teammates were conservative and liberal, black, white, Asian, Jewish, Christian, atheist . . . we had to get along or be miserable."[255]

H. INCENTIVES

- If it were implemented, the National Service American Dream Account (NSADA) program would offer one type of incentive. With the NSADA, the U.S. Treasury would administer a tax-free fund of $5,000 provided for every baby born in the United States and linked to the child's social security number.[256] Parents would have legal custody over the fund and, along with family members and friends, could contribute to the account annually. No one would be able to touch the funds until the child turned 18 and performed a full term of national service. Once the service obligation was fulfilled, the government would grant him/her access to withdraw the funds but only for preapproved purposes like paying for higher education, buying a home, starting a business or non-profit organization, or opening a retirement investment.

- Table 2 highlights how a NSADA fund would mature with and without annual contributions. If an individual somehow eluded service, the money could simply be rolled back into the Treasury to be used for a new account for someone else.

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255 McChrystal, "Step Up for Your Country," 4.

256 Michael Brown et al., "A Call to National Service," *The American Interest* (January/February 2008): 37. This entire NSADA program proposal is outlined in much greater detail in the article.

	Value at Age 19	. . . Age 28	. . . Age 65
No Additional Contribution	$18,803	$33,244	$406,364
With Annual Contribution of $500	$38,080	$76,417	$1,019,878
. . . $1,000	$58,078	$119,590	$1,633,392
. . . $1,500	$78,075	$162,763	$2,246,906
. . . $2,000	$98,073	$205,937	$2,860,420

Table 2.   Future Value of a $5,000 NSADA at 7 Percent Interest[257]

- As an alternative within the NSADA, and building on the current Segal AmeriCorps Education Award option within VISTA, service participants should be able to receive a cash payout in lieu of the preapproved purposes, albeit at a significantly reduced amount.

- Service should carry with it some educational credit depending on the field of service. For example, serving in the environmental sector for a year might qualify an individual for between three and six credit hours' worth of college level equivalency credit.

I.   THE INFRASTRUCTURE IS ALREADY THERE

- A future universal program could draw on much of today's national service infrastructure, particularly that of the CNCS.

- The current Selective Service System registration and application process could offer service options and be used as a vehicle for enrolling people in a national service program. The Selective Service application could also double as a dream sheet on which people could indicate their choices of service: i.e., military, overseas, health, education, etc. According to the Selective Service Agency website, with additional funding the current Selective Service System is capable of registering and drafting women given its existing infrastructure.[258]

J.   IT IS AMERICAN SERVICE

- A cornerstone to national service is that with rights come certain responsibilities. It is the responsibility of all Americans to serve. For that reason alone, national service needs to be called what it is: "American Service."

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257 Ibid.

258 Selective Service System, "Women and the Draft," (n.d.), http://www.sss.gov/FSwomen.htm (accessed October 18, 2012).

- "American Service" would need to accomplish many things, but most importantly it should have people saying "I came out an American" or "I consider myself more American than I do a member of any particular group."

K.   OUR CLOSING THOUGHT

Universal national service can achieve what many programs and initiatives have failed to do: capture the imagination and spirit of the American people by asking them to put their hearts and hands to work for the benefits of our nation. What better way to show the whole world the true potential of our American community of liberty? What better way to lead the greatest mass democracy in history into an even more celebrated future?[259]

Returning our thoughts to the same three statements the American Jewish Committee report posed:

Imagine an America where the most commonly asked question of a young person turning eighteen is not 'Where are you going to work?' or 'Where are you going to college?' but instead 'Where are you going to serve?'

Imagine an America where each generation is given the opportunity to be the 'Greatest Generation,' because it has participated in a common cause larger than itself.

Imagine an America where Americans from all backgrounds feel a common bond because each has had the opportunity to experience service to our nation—service that will make America stronger, more secure, and better for us all.[260]

The two co-authors can say, "Yes, we have imagined this America. We have served. We believe the generations coming up behind us can be 'Greatest Generations.' American service would help ensure that. Its time is now."

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259 Brown et al., "A Call to National Service," 39.

260 AJC, "Imagining America," 4.

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